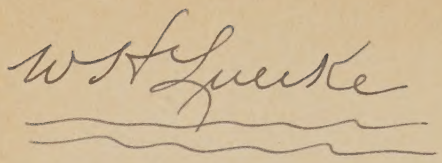
THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON



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THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

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PREFACE

In order to enable teachers to adjust their historical instruction with greater freedom than would otherwise be possible, it seems wise to issue as a separate volume that portion of *Medieval and Modern Times* which deals with the period extending from the dissolution of the Roman Empire to the opening of the eighteenth century. This division does not correspond to that usually called the Middle Ages but is extended to comprise the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are, however, a number of cogent reasons for viewing these two centuries as more medieval than modern. To cite a single striking example, it was not until after the year 1700 that the intelligent people of Europe finally gave up their belief in witchcraft, which seems to us now a delusion appropriate only to savages. Those social conditions and modes of thought produced by scientific discoveries and inventions, by democracy and world commerce which are characteristic of our day only begin to emerge on a large scale in the eighteenth century. It was at the opening of the eighteenth century that the Prussian army entered upon those preparations which are proving so disastrous for the world to-day. So it will be quite proper to include the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the "Middle Period" and regard them as belonging rather to an introduction to our own times than as forming a definite part of the period in which we live.

J. H. R.

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THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

Prelude

Object of this volume

1. History, in the broadest sense of the word, is all that we know about everything that man has ever done, or thought, or hoped, or felt. It is the study of past human affairs. The present volume deals with only a small, but for us most important, part of the history of the world. Its object is to give a very brief, clear account of the great changes which have taken place in western Europe since the German barbarians, some fifteen hundred years ago, overcame the armies of the Roman Empire and set up kingdoms of their own, out of which the present countries of France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, and England have grown.

History no longer "a record of past events"

History used to be defined as "the record of past *events*." And most of the older textbooks tell about scarcely anything except events — how battles were fought, how kings came to the throne one after another, how treaties were concluded and the boundary lines between states were changed from time to time. But nowadays we are beginning to see that the history of past *conditions* and *institutions* is far more important than that of mere events. We want to know how people lived, what kind of buildings they built, what kind of books they read, how much they knew and what they thought about science and religion; how they were governed, what they manufactured and how they carried on their business.

Illustrations of what is meant by past conditions and institutions

It is important to understand clearly what is meant by events, conditions, and institutions, since history deals with all three. An event is an occurrence, such as the death of Queen Victoria or the battle of Gettysburg. A condition is a more or less permanent state of affairs, such as the scarcity of money in the early Middle Ages or the fact that a hundred years ago only a small part of the English people could read. By institution we usually mean such things as the English Parliament, public schools, or trial by jury. Both conditions and institutions often endure for hundreds of years. Events happen in a short time but often produce great results, as did the invention of printing and the discovery of America.

Value of the newer kind of history

The newer kind of history, which deals with past conditions as well as events, enables us really to understand the past and to compare it with the present, and in that way we come to understand the conditions in which we live much better than we should otherwise do. We see where our ideas and beliefs and inventions came from, how slowly most of them developed, and how men have changed their ways of living as they learned more.

Impossibility of dividing the past into clearly defined periods

It is impossible to divide the past into distinct, clearly defined periods and prove that one age ended and another began in a particular year, such as 476, or 1453, or 1789. Men do not and cannot change their habits and ways of doing things all at once, no matter what happens. It is true that a single event, such as an important battle which results in the loss of a nation's independence, may produce an abrupt change in the government. This in turn may either encourage or discourage trade and manufactures, and modify the language and alter the interests of a people. But these deeper changes take place only very gradually. After a battle or a revolution the farmer will sow and reap in his old way; the artisan will take up his familiar tasks, and the merchant his buying and selling. The scholar will study and write as he formerly did, and the household will go on under the new government just as it did under the old.

All general changes take place gradually

So a change in government affects the habits of a people but slowly in any case, and it may leave them quite unaltered.

The unity or continuity of history

This tendency of mankind to do, in general, this year what it did last, in spite of changes in some one department of life, — such as substituting a president for a king, traveling by rail instead of on horseback, or getting the news from a newspaper instead of from a neighbor, — results in what is called the *unity* or *continuity of history*. The truth that no sudden change has ever taken place in all the customs of a people, and that it cannot, in the nature of things, take place, is perhaps the most fundamental lesson that history teaches.

General changes do not occur on fixed dates

Historians sometimes seem to forget this principle, when they undertake to begin and end their books at precise dates. We find histories of Europe from 476 to 918, from 1270 to 1492, as if the accession of a capable German king in 918, or the death of a famous French king in 1270, or the discovery of America in 1492, marked a *general* change in European affairs. In reality, however, no general change took place at these dates or in any other single year. It would doubtless have proved a great convenience to the readers and writers of history if the world had agreed to carry out a definite program and alter its habits at precise dates, preferably at the opening of each century. But no such agreement has ever been adopted, and the historical student must take things as he finds them. He must recognize that nations retain their old customs while they adopt new ones, and that a small portion of a nation may advance while the greater part of it stays behind.

Meaning of the term "Middle Ages"

We cannot, therefore, hope to fix any year or event which may properly be taken as the beginning of that long period which followed the break-up of the Roman Empire in western Europe and which is commonly called the Middle Ages. Beyond the northern and eastern boundaries of the Roman Empire, which embraced the whole civilized world from the Euphrates to Britain, mysterious peoples moved about whose history before they came into occasional contact with the Romans is practically unknown.

These Germans, or "barbarians," as the Romans called them, were destined to put an end to the Roman Empire in western Europe. They had first begun to make trouble about a hundred years before Christ, when a great army of them was defeated by the Roman general Marius. Julius Cæsar narrates in polished Latin, familiar to all who begin the study of that language, how fifty years later he drove back other bands. Five hundred years elapsed, however, before German chieftains succeeded in founding kingdoms within the boundaries of the Empire. With their establishment the Roman government in western Europe may be said to have come to an end and the Middle Ages to have begun.

Most medieval notions to be found in the late Roman Empire

Yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that this means that the Roman civilization suddenly disappeared at this time. Long before the German conquest, art and literature had begun to decline toward the level that they reached in the Middle Ages. Many of the ideas and conditions which prevailed after the coming of the barbarians were common enough before. Even the ignorance and strange ideas which we associate particularly with the Middle Ages are to be found in the later Roman Empire.

The term "Middle Ages" will be used in this volume to mean, roughly speaking, the period of over a thousand years that elapsed between the fifth century, when the disorder of the barbarian invasions was becoming general, and the opening of the sixteenth century, when Europe was well on its way to recover all that had been lost since the break-up of the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire and its Government

2. Before we begin our study of the history of western Europe since the break-up of the Roman Empire we must stop to consider briefly the way in which people were living before the German leaders succeeded in establishing their kingdoms.

Extent of the Roman Empire

At the opening of the fifth century there were no separate, independent states in western Europe such as we find on the map to-day. The whole area now occupied by England, France, Spain,

and Italy formed at that time only a part of the vast realms ruled over by the Roman emperor and his host of officials. As for Germany, most of it was still familiar only to the half-savage tribes who inhabited it. The Romans had tried in vain to conquer this part of Europe, but finally had to content themselves with keeping the German hordes out of the Empire by means of fortifications and guards along the Rhine and Danube rivers.

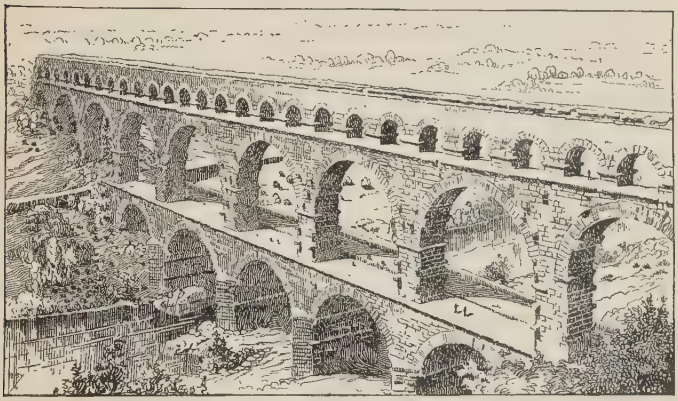

FIG. 1. ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES

This structure was built by the Romans about the year 20 A.D. to supply the Roman colony of Nemausus (now called Nîmes) in southern France with water from two excellent springs twenty-five miles distant. It is nearly 900 feet long and 160 feet high, and carried the water over the valley of the river Gard. The channel for the water is at the very top, and one can still walk through it. The miles of aqueduct on either side of this bridge have almost disappeared

Great diversity of races included within the Empire

The Roman Empire, which embraced southern and western Europe, western Asia, and even the northern portion of Africa (see map), included the most diverse peoples and races. Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Italians, Gauls, Britons, Iberians,—all alike were under the sovereign rule of Rome. One great state embraced the nomad shepherds who spread their tents on the borders of Sahara, the mountaineers in the fastnesses of

Wales, and the citizens of Athens, Alexandria, and Rome, heirs to all the luxury and learning of the ages. Whether one lived in York or Jerusalem, Memphis or Vienna, he paid his taxes into the same treasury, he was tried by the same law, and looked to the same armies for protection.

Bonds which held the Empire together

At first it seems incredible that this huge Empire, which included African and Asiatic peoples as well as the most various races of Europe in all stages of civilization, could have held together for five centuries instead of falling to pieces, as might have been expected, long before the barbarians came in sufficient strength to establish their own kingdoms in its midst.

When, however, we consider the bonds of union which held the state together, it is easy to understand why the Empire endured so long. These were (1) the wonderfully organized government with its officials in every part of the realm, watching everything and allowing nothing to escape them; (2) the worship of the head of the Empire, the emperor; (3) the hardy legions of soldiers who had made Rome's conquests and could be used to put down revolt and keep out the barbarians; (4) the Roman law in force everywhere; (5) the admirable roads, which enabled the soldiers to march quickly from place to place; and, lastly, (6) the Roman colonies and the teachers sent out by the government, for through them the same ideas and ways of doing things were carried to even the most distant parts of the Empire.

The Roman government attempted to regulate everything

Let us first glance at the government and the emperor. His decrees were dispatched throughout the length and breadth of the Roman dominions; whatsoever pleased him became law, according to the well-known principle of the Roman constitution. While the cities were permitted some freedom in the management of their own affairs, the emperor and his innumerable officials kept an eye upon even the humblest citizen. The Roman government, besides keeping order, settling law cases, and defending the boundaries, assumed many other responsibilities. It watched the grain dealers, butchers, and bakers, and saw to it that they properly supplied the public and never deserted their

occupation. In some cases it forced the son to follow the profession of his father. If it could have had its way, it would have had every one belong to a definite class of society, and his children after him. It kept the unruly poorer classes in the towns quiet by furnishing them with bread, and sometimes with wine, meat, and clothes. It provided amusement for them by expensive entertainments, such as races and gladiatorial combats (see Fig. 3). In a word, the Roman government was not only wonderfully organized, so that its power was felt throughout its whole extent, but it attempted to regulate almost every interest in life.

The worship of the emperor

Every one was required to join in the worship of the emperor because he stood for the majesty and glory of the Roman dominion. The inhabitants of each province might revere their particular gods, undisturbed by the government, but all were obliged, as good citizens, to join in the official sacrifices to the head of the State, as if he were a god. The early Christians were persecuted, not only because their religion was different from that of their fellows, but because they refused to reverence the images of the emperor, and openly prophesied the downfall of the Roman State. Their religion seemed incompatible with good citizenship, since it forbade them to show the usual respect for the government.

The Roman law

As there was one government, so there was one law for all the civilized world. The same principles of reason, justice, and humanity were believed to hold whether the Roman citizen lived upon the Euphrates or the Thames. The law of the Roman Empire is its chief legacy to posterity. Its provisions are still in force in many of the states of Europe to-day, and it is one of the subjects of study in our American universities. Wives and children were protected from the cruelty of the head of the house, who, in earlier centuries, had been privileged to treat the members of his family as slaves. The law held that it was better that a guilty person should escape than that an innocent person should be condemned. It conceived mankind, not as a group of nations and tribes, each with its own laws, but as one

people included in one great empire and subject to a single system of law based upon fairness and reason.

Roads

Magnificent roads were constructed, which enabled the messengers of the government and its armies to reach every part of the Empire with what at that time seemed incredible speed.

Fig. 2. Roman Bridge at St. Chamas

This Roman bridge with its handsome portals, at St. Chamas in southern France, was built in the time of the Emperor Augustus; that is, about the beginning of the Christian era

These highways made trade comparatively easy and encouraged merchants and travelers to visit the most distant portions of the realm. Everywhere they found the same coins and the same system of weights and measures.

Colonies, public buildings

Colonies were sent out to the confines of the Empire, and the remains of great public buildings, of theaters and bridges, of sumptuous villas and baths at places like Treves, Cologne, Bath, and Salzburg, indicate how thoroughly the influence and civilization of Rome penetrated to the utmost parts of the territory subject to her rule. The illustrations in this chapter will show what wonderfully fine towns the Roman colonies were.

The government encouraged education by supporting at least three teachers in every town of any considerable importance. They taught rhetoric and oratory and explained the works of the

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT

(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

Scale of Miles.

25
30
35
40
45
50
55
Sarmatians
Herakleia
Chersonesus
Danube R.
MŒSIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Helle R.
CAPPADOCIA PONTUS
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
ASSYRIA
Tigris R.
Edessa
Nisibis
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Seleucia
Babylon
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
PAMPHYLIA
Issus
Antioch
SYRIA
Emesa
Palmyra
Corinth
CRETE
CYPRUS
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Petra
Alexandria
ARABIA
EGYPT
Nile R.
50
45
40
35
30
25
25
30
35
40

great Latin and Greek writers, so that an educated man was pretty sure to find, even in the outlying parts of the great Empire, other educated men with much the same interests and ideas as his own. Everywhere men felt themselves to be not mere natives of this or that country but citizens of the Roman world.

The same culture throughout the Roman Empire

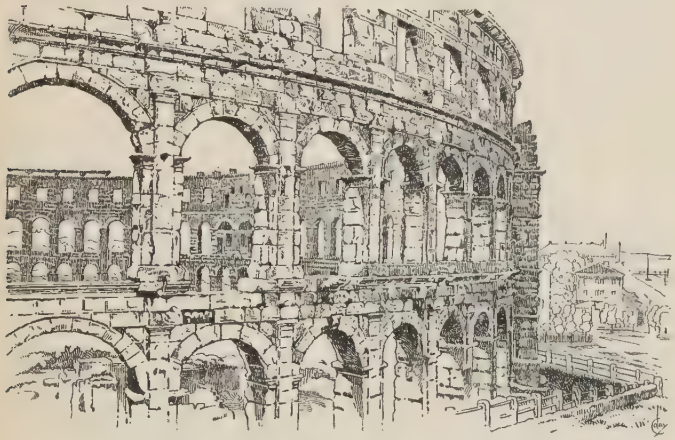

FIG. 3. ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT POLA

Every large Roman town had a vast arena, or amphitheater, in which thousands of spectators could be seated to watch the public fights between professional swordsmen (gladiators) and between men and wild beasts. The emperors and rich men paid the expenses of these combats. The greatest of these arenas was the Coliseum at Rome. The one here represented shows that a Roman town of perhaps 40,000 inhabitants was supplied with an amphitheater, holding no less than 20,000 spectators, who must have assembled from all the region around. The seats have disappeared; only the outside walls remain

During the four centuries from the first emperor, Augustus, to the barbarian invasions we hear of no attempt on the part of its subjects to overthrow the Empire or to withdraw from it. The Roman State, it was universally believed, was to endure forever. Had a rebellious nation succeeded in throwing off the rule of the emperor and in establishing its independence, it would simply have placed itself outside the civilized world.

Loyalty to the Empire and conviction that it was eternal

The Weaknesses of the Roman Empire

Reasons why the Empire lost its power to defend itself against the Germans

3. Just why the Roman government, long so powerful and so universally respected, finally became unable longer to defend its borders, and gave way before the scattered attacks of the German peoples, who never combined in any general alliance against it, is a very difficult question to answer satisfactorily.

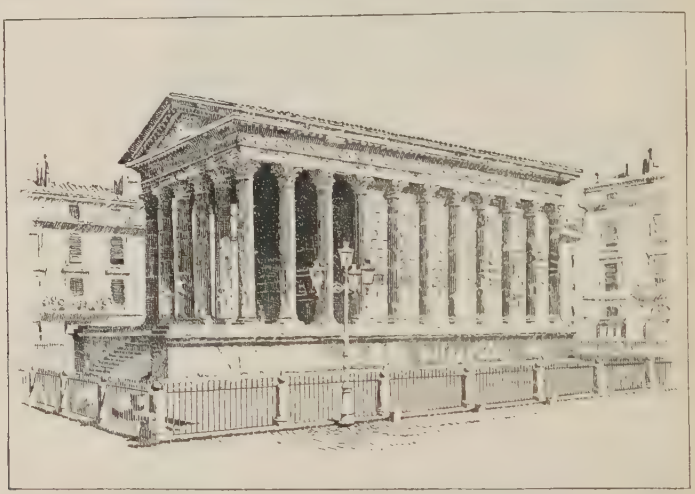

Fig. 4. Roman Temple at Nîmes

This beautiful temple at Nimes, France, was probably built about the year one of the Christian era. It was situated in the forum with other public buildings which have now disappeared. After the break-up of the Roman Empire it was used as a Christian church, then as a town hall, then as a warehouse, and finally as a stable. In 1824 it was restored to its original condition as we now find it

We know very little about the times, because the accounts that have come down to us give us no reasons why things happened as they did, and the best we can do is to see what were the conditions in the Empire when the Germans invaded it.

The Roman government was in some respects very strong and well organized, but there was no satisfactory way of choosing

a new emperor. No candidate could secure the election unless he was supported by the army, and the soldiers in the various parts of the Empire often proposed different men for whom they were willing to fight. Civil war would then follow, which would come to a close only when one candidate succeeded in getting the better of all his rivals. This brought about frequent disorder, which did its part in weakening the Empire.

Civil wars over the elections of the emperors

It required a great deal of money to support the luxurious palaces of the emperors at Rome and Constantinople with their innumerable officials and servants, and to supply "bread and circuses" for the populace of the towns. All sorts of taxes and exactions were consequently devised by ingenious officials to make up the necessary revenue. The crushing burden of the great land tax, the emperor's chief source of income, was greatly increased by the bad way in which it was collected. The government made a group of the richer citizens in each of the towns permanently responsible for the whole amount due each year from all the landowners within their district. It was their business to collect the taxes and make up any deficiency, it mattered not from what cause.

Oppressive taxation

This responsibility, together with the weight of the taxes themselves, ruined so many landowners that the government was forced to decree that no one should desert his estates in order to escape the exactions. Only the very rich could stand the drain on their resources. The middle class sank into poverty and despair, and in this way the Empire lost just that prosperous class of citizens who should have been the leaders in business enterprises.

The sad plight of the poorer laboring classes was largely due to the terrible institution of slavery which prevailed everywhere in ancient times. When the Romans conquered a new region they were in the habit, in accordance with the customs of war, of reducing a considerable part of the inhabitants to slavery. In this way the number of slaves was constantly increased. There were millions of them. A single rich landholder might own hundreds and even thousands, and it was a poor man that

Slavery

Competition of slaves fatal to the free man

Each great household where articles of luxury were in demand relied upon its own host of skillful slaves to produce them. Moreover, the owners of slaves frequently hired them out to those who needed workmen, or permitted them to work for wages, and in this way left little for the free man to do even if he was willing to work.

Improved condition of the slaves and their emancipation

It cannot be denied that a notable improvement in the condition of slaves took place during the centuries immediately preceding the barbarian invasions. Their owners abandoned the horrible subterranean prisons in which the farm hands had once been miserably huddled at night. The law, moreover, protected the slave from some of the worst forms of abuse; first and foremost, it deprived his master of the right to kill him.

Contrast between freedmen and free men

Slaves began to decrease in numbers before the German invasions. In the first place, the supply had been cut off after the Roman armies ceased to conquer new territory. In the second place, masters began to free their slaves on a large scale, — for what reasons we do not know. When a slave was freed he was called a *freedman*, but he was by no means in the position of one who had been born free. It was true that he was no longer a mere thing that could be bought and sold, but he had still to serve his former master, — who had now become his *patron*, — for a certain number of days in the year. He was obliged to pay him a part of his earnings and could not marry without his patron's consent.

But, as the condition of the slaves improved, and many of them became freedmen, the state of the poor free man only became worse. In the towns, if he tried to earn his living, he was forced to mingle with those slaves who were permitted to work for wages and with the freedmen, and he naturally tended to sink to their level.

The *coloni*

In the country the free agricultural laborers became *coloni*, a curious intermediate class, neither slave nor really free. They were bound to the particular bit of land which some great proprietor permitted them to cultivate, and remained attached

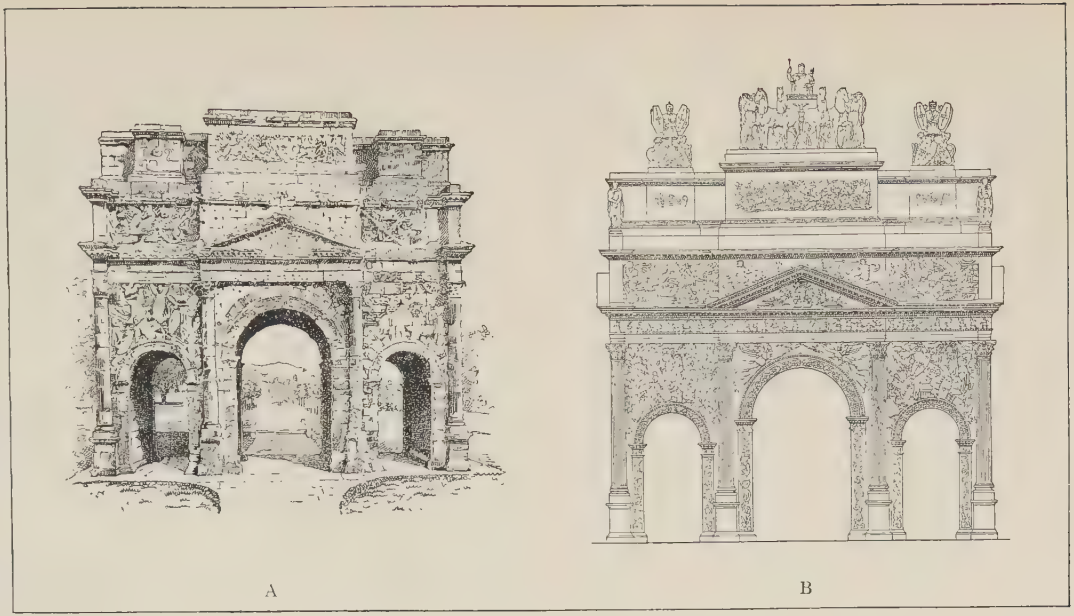

FIG. 7. A ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH

A, Roman triumphal arch at Orange, France, as it now looks; B, Original appearance of arch. The Romans were accustomed to build huge and handsome arches to commemorate important victories. There were naturally a number at Rome; of those built in the chief cities of the Empire, several still remain. The one pictured above was built at the Roman colony of Arausio, on the river Rhone, to celebrate a victory over the Gauls in 21 A.D. The sculptures represent the fight between the Roman soldiers and the Gauls, and the captives that the Romans took. Modern cities have erected similar arches: e.g. Paris, Berlin, London, and New York

Resemblance between the *coloni* and the later serfs

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The Rise of the Christian Church

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The first Christians looked for the speedy return of Christ before their own generation should pass away. Since all were

Simple organization of early Christians

filled with enthusiasm for the Gospel and eagerly awaited the last day, they did not feel the need for much organization. But as time went on the Christian communities greatly increased in size, and many persons joined them who had little or none of the original earnestness and religion. It became necessary to develop a regular system of church government in order to control the sinful and expel those who brought disgrace upon their religion by notoriously bad conduct.

The "Catholic," or universal, Church

Gradually the followers of Christ came to believe in a "Catholic" — that is, a universal — Church which embraced all the groups of true believers in Christ, wherever they might be. To this one universal Church all must belong who hoped to be saved.[1]

Organization of the Church before Constantine

A sharp distinction was already made between the officers of the Church, who were called the *clergy*, and the people, or *laity*. To the clergy was committed the government of the Church as well as the teaching of its members. In each of the Roman cities was a bishop, and at the head of the country communities, a priest, who had derived his name from the original elders mentioned in the New Testament.[2] It was natural that the bishops in the chief towns of the Roman provinces should be especially influential in church affairs. They came to be called archbishops, and might summon the bishops of the province to a council to decide important matters.

Bishops, priests, and archbishops

Constantine favors the Church

In 311 the Roman emperor Galerius issued a decree placing the Christian religion upon the same legal footing as the worship of the Roman gods. His successor, Constantine, the first Christian emperor, strictly enforced this edict. Constantine's successors soon forbade the worship of the old pagan gods and began to issue laws which gave the Christian clergy important privileges.

[1] "Whoever separates himself from the Church," writes St. Cyprian (died 258) "is separated from the promises of the Church. . . . He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy; he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the Church." See *Readings in European History*, chap. ii.

[2] Our word "priest" comes from the Latin word *presbyter*, meaning "elder."

The Church in the Theodosian Code

In the last book of the Theodosian Code, — a great collection of the laws of the Empire, which was completed in 438, — all the emperors' decrees are to be found which relate to the Christian Church and the clergy. We find that the clergy, in view of their holy duties, were exempted from certain burdensome government offices and from some of the taxes which the laity had to pay. They were also permitted to receive bequests. The emperors themselves built churches and helped the Church in many ways (see below, section 10). Their example was followed by rulers and private individuals all through the Middle Ages, so that the Church became incredibly wealthy and enjoyed a far greater income than any state of Europe. The clergy were permitted to try certain law cases, and they themselves had the privilege of being tried in their own church courts for minor criminal offenses.

Heresy punished as crime

The Theodosian Code makes it *unlawful* for any one to differ from the beliefs of the Catholic Church. Those who dared to disagree with the teachings of the Church were called *heretics*. If heretics ventured to come together, their meetings were to be broken up and the teachers heavily fined. Houses in which the doctrines of the heretics were taught were to be confiscated by the government. The books containing their teachings were to be sought out with the utmost care and burned under the eyes of the magistrate; and if any one was convicted of concealing a heretical book, he was to suffer capital punishment.

It is clear, then, that very soon after the Christian Church was recognized by the Roman government it induced the emperors to grant the clergy particular favors, to destroy the pagan temples and prohibit pagan worship, and, finally, to persecute all those who ventured to disagree with the orthodox teachings of the Church.

We shall find that the governments in the Middle Ages, following the example of the Roman emperors, continued to grant the clergy special privileges and to persecute heretics, often in a very cruel manner (see below, section 39).

The Church survives the Empire

In these provisions of the Theodosian Code the later medieval Church is clearly foreshadowed. The imperial government in the West was soon overthrown by the barbarian conquerors, but the Catholic Church converted and ruled these conquerors. When the officers of the Empire deserted their posts, the bishops stayed to meet the oncoming invader. They continued to represent the old civilization and ideas of order. It was the Church that kept the Latin language alive among those who knew only a rude German dialect. It was the Church that maintained some little education even in the times of greatest ignorance, for without the ability to read Latin the priests could not have performed the religious services and the bishops could not have carried on their correspondence with one another.

The Eastern Empire

The Eastern Empire

5. Although the Roman Empire remained one in law, government, and culture until the Germans came in sufficient force to conquer the western portions of it, a tendency may nevertheless be noticed some time before the barbarian conquest for the eastern and western portions to drift apart. Constantine, who established his supremacy only after a long struggle with his rivals, hoped to strengthen the vast state by creating a second capital, which should lie far to the east and dominate a region very remote from Rome. Constantinople was accordingly founded in 330 on the confines of Europe and Asia.[1]

There were often two emperors but only *one* Empire

Thereafter there were often two emperors, one in the west and one in the east, but they were supposed to govern one empire conjointly and in "unanimity." New laws were to be accepted by both. The writers of the time do not speak of two states but continue to refer to "the Empire," as if the administration were still in the hands of one ruler. Indeed, the idea of

[1] Constantine built his new capital on the site of an old town, Byzantium which he re-named after himself, Constantinople, that is, Constantine City. The adjective "Byzantine" applied to the eastern part of the Roman Empire is of course derived from the older name "Byzantium."

one government for all civilized mankind did not disappear but continued to influence men during the whole of the Middle Ages.

Eastern Empire lasts until 1453

Although it was in the eastern part of the Empire that the barbarians first got a permanent foothold, the emperors at Constantinople were able to keep a portion of the old possessions of the Empire under their rule for centuries after the Germans had completely conquered the West. When at last the eastern capital of the Empire fell, it was not into the hands of the Germans, but into those of the Turks, who have held it ever since 1453.

Constantinople, the most wealthy and populous city of Europe during the early Middle Ages

There will be no room in this volume to follow the history of the Eastern Empire, although it cannot be entirely ignored in studying western Europe. Its language and civilization had always been Greek, and owing to this and the influence of the Orient, its civilization offers a marked contrast to that of the Latin West, which was adopted by the Germans. Learning never died out in the East as it did in the West, nor did art reach so low an ebb. For some centuries after the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, the capital of the Eastern Empire enjoyed the distinction of being the largest and most wealthy city of Europe. Within its walls could be found a refinement and civilization which had almost disappeared in the West, and its beautiful buildings, its parks and paved streets, filled travelers from the West with astonishment.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 1. What do you consider the chief uses of studying history? Give examples of events, conditions, and institutions in our own time. Why is it impossible to divide the past into distinct periods? What is meant by the continuity of history? What were the Middle Ages?

SECTION 2. Mention some of the peoples included in the bounds of the Roman Empire. What were the bonds that held the vast Roman Empire together? How far is it from York to Babylon? What can you tell about the Roman government and the Roman law? What kinds of public buildings were to be found in a flourishing Roman colony?

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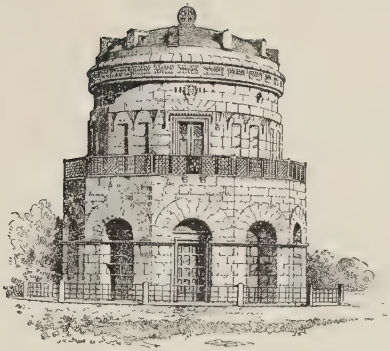
SECTION 3. What troubles did the Roman method of raising taxes produce? Describe a Roman villa. What is a slave? What was the difference between a freedman and a free man? Compare the condition of the slaves with that of the *coloni* in the later Roman Empire.

SECTION 4. Compare the religious beliefs of the pagans with those of the Christians. What privileges are granted to the Christian clergy in the Theodosian Code? Define heresy; how were heretics treated according to the Roman law?

SECTION 5. How did Constantinople happen to be founded? What can you say about the Eastern Empire?



CHAPTER II

THE GERMAN INVASIONS AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Founding of Kingdoms by Barbarian Chiefs

The Huns force the Goths into the Empire

6. Previous to the year 375 the attempts of the Germans to penetrate into the Roman Empire appear to have been due to their love of adventure, their hope of plundering their civilized neighbors, or the need of new lands for their increasing numbers. And the Romans, by means of their armies, their walls, and their guards, had up to this time succeeded in preventing the barbarians from violently occupying Roman territory. But suddenly a new force appeared in the rear of the Germans which thrust some of them across the northern boundary of the Empire. The Huns, a Mongolian folk from central Asia, swept down upon the Goths, who were a German tribe settled upon the Danube, and forced a part of them to seek shelter across the river, within the limits of the Empire.

Battle of Adrianople, 378

Here they soon fell out with the Roman officials, and a great battle was fought at Adrianople in 378 in which the Goths defeated and slew the Roman emperor, Valens. The Germans

had now not only broken through the boundaries of the Empire, but they had also learned that they could defeat the Roman legions. The battle of Adrianople may therefore be said to mark the beginning of the conquest of the western part of the Empire by the Germans. For some years, however, after the battle of Adrianople the various bands of West Goths — or *Visigoths*, as they are often called — were induced to accept the terms of peace offered by the emperor's officials, and some of the Goths agreed to serve as soldiers in the Roman armies.

Alaric takes Rome, 410

Among the Germans who succeeded in getting an important position in the Roman army was Alaric, but he appears to have become dissatisfied with the treatment he received from the emperor. He therefore collected an army, of which his countrymen, the West Goths, formed a considerable part, and set out for Italy, and finally decided to march on Rome itself. The Eternal City fell into his hands in 410 and was plundered by his followers.

St. Augustine's *City of God*

Although Alaric did not destroy the city, or even seriously damage it, the fact that Rome had fallen into the hands of an invading army was a notable disaster. The pagans explained it on the ground that the old gods were angry because so many people had deserted them and become Christians. St. Augustine, in his famous book, *The City of God*, took much pains to prove that the Roman gods had never been able on previous occasions to prevent disaster to their worshipers, and that Christianity could not be held responsible for the troubles of the time.

West Goths settle in southern Gaul and Spain

Alaric died before he could find a satisfactory spot for his people to settle upon permanently. After his death the West Goths wandered into Gaul, and then into Spain. Here they came upon the Vandals, another German tribe, who had crossed the Rhine four years before Alaric had captured Rome. For three years they had devastated Gaul and then had moved down into Spain. For a time after the arrival in Spain of the West Goths, there was war between them and the Vandals. The West Goths seem to have got the best of their rivals, for

20
10
60
0
10
50
40
30
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITAIN
ESSEX
KENT
JUTES
SAXONS
ANGLES
LOMBARDS
SUEVES
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Cologne
Oder R.
Seine R.
Paris
Treves
Chalons
Loire R.
Orleans
Strasbourg
Danube
GAUL
Aquileia
Toulouse
Pyrenees
Arles
Rhone R.
Narbonne
Douro R.
SPAIN
Tagus R.
ADRIATIC SEA
ROME
BALEARES IS.
Strait of Gibraltar
Carthago Nova
MEDITERRA
VANDALS
Carthage
THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANS in the FIFTH CENTURY
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
M. & N. ENG., BUFFALO.
0
10
Longitude

30
40
60
50
60
FINNS
Volga R.
Duna R.
SCYTHIANS AND TARTARS
50
Dnieper R.
EAST GOTHS
Don R.
Volga R.
CASPIAN SEA
WEST GOTHS
Attila's Palace
Caucasus Mts.
40
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
Constantinople
Adrianople
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
EXPLANATION:
LIMITS OF ATTILA'S EMPIRE ABOUT 450
VANDALS
WEST GOTHS
EAST GOTHS
FRANKS
SAXONS AND ANGLES
30
Alexandria
Nile
m Greenwich
30
40

the Vandals determined to move on across the Strait of Gibraltar into northern Africa, where they established a kingdom and conquered the neighboring islands in the Mediterranean (see map, p. 29). Kingdom of the Vandals in Africa

Having rid themselves of the Vandals, the West Goths took possession of a great part of the Spanish peninsula, and this they added to their conquests across the Pyrenees in Gaul, so that their kingdom extended from the river Loire to the Strait of Gibraltar.

It is unnecessary to follow the confused history of the movements of the innumerable bands of restless barbarians who wandered about Europe during the fifth century. Scarcely any part of western Europe was left unmolested; even Britain was conquered by German tribes, the Angles and Saxons.

FIG. 8. ROMAN MAUSOLEUM AT ST. RÉMY

The Roman town of Glanum (now called St. Rémy) in southern France was destroyed by the West Goths in 480. Little remains of the town except a triumphal arch and the great monument pictured here. Above the main arches is the inscription, SEX. L. M. IVLIEI. C. F. PARENTIBUS. SVEIS, which seems to mean "Sextus Julius and [his brothers] Lucius and Marcus, sons of Gaius, to their parents"

Attila and the Huns

To add to the universal confusion caused by the influx of the German tribes, the Huns (the Mongolian people who had first pushed the West Goths into the Empire) now began to fill all western Europe with terror. Under their chief, Attila, this savage people invaded Gaul. But the Romans and the German inhabitants joined together against the invaders and defeated them in the battle of Châlons, in 451. After this rebuff in Gaul, Attila turned to Italy. But the danger there was averted by a Roman embassy, headed by Pope Leo the Great, who induced Attila to give up his plan of marching upon Rome. Within a year he died and with him perished the power of the Huns, who never troubled Europe again.

The "fall" of the Empire in the West, 476

The year 476 has commonly been taken as the date of the "fall" of the Western Empire and of the beginning of the Middle Ages. What happened in that year was this. Most of the Roman emperors in the West had proved weak and indolent rulers. So the barbarians wandered hither and thither pretty much at their pleasure, and the German troops in the service of the Empire became accustomed to set up and depose emperors to suit their own special interest, very much in the same way that a boss in an American city often succeeds in securing the election of a mayor who will carry out his wishes.

Odoacer

Finally in 476, Odoacer, the most powerful among the rival German generals in Italy, banished the last of the emperors of the West and ruled in his stead.[1]

Theodoric conquers Odoacer and establishes the kingdom of the East Goths in Italy

It was not, however, given to Odoacer to establish an enduring German kingdom on Italian soil, for he was conquered by the great Theodoric, the king of the East Goths (or Ostrogoths). Theodoric had spent ten years of his early youth in Constantinople and had thus become familiar with Roman life and was on friendly terms with the emperor of the East.

The struggle between Theodoric and Odoacer lasted for several years, but Odoacer was finally shut up in Ravenna and

[1] The common misapprehensions in regard to the events of 476 are discussed by the author in *The New History*, pp. 154 ff.

surrendered, only to be treacherously slain a few days later by Theodoric's own hand (493).

The East Goths in Italy

Theodoric put the name of the emperor at Constantinople on the coins which he issued, and did everything in his power to gain the emperor's approval of the new German kingdom.

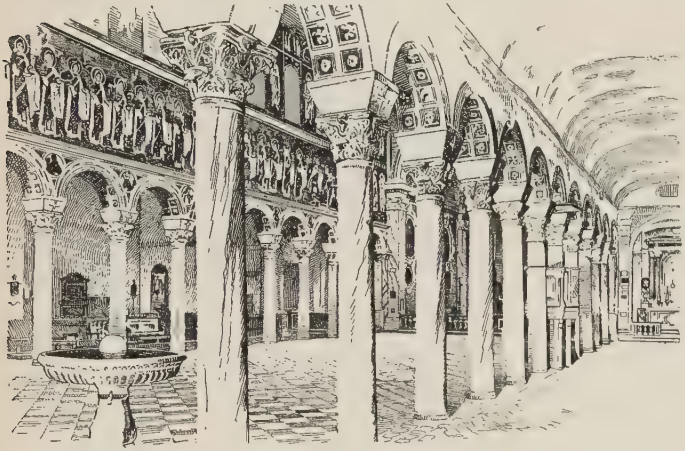


FIG. 9. CHURCH OF SANT' APOLLINARE NUOVO

This church was erected at Ravenna by Theodoric. Although the outside has been changed, the interior, here represented, remains much the same as it was originally. The twenty-four marble columns were brought from Constantinople. The walls are adorned with *mosaics;* that is, pictures made by piecing together small squares of brightly colored marbles or glass

Nevertheless, although he desired that the emperor should sanction his usurpation, Theodoric had no idea of being really subordinate to Constantinople.

The invaders took one third of the land for themselves, but this seems to have been done without causing any serious disorder. Theodoric greatly admired the Roman laws and institutions and did his best to preserve them. The old offices and titles were retained, and Goth and Roman lived under the same Roman law. Order was maintained and learning encouraged. In

Ravenna, which Theodoric chose for his capital, beautiful buildings still exist that date from his reign.[1]

While Theodoric had been establishing his kingdom in Italy in this enlightened way, Gaul, which we now call France, was coming under the control of the most powerful of all the barbarian peoples, the *Franks*, who were to play a more important rôle in the formation of modern Europe than any of the other German races (see next section).

Besides the kingdom of the East Goths in Italy and of the Franks in Gaul, the West Goths had their kingdom in Spain, the Burgundians had established themselves on the Rhone River, and the Vandals in Africa. Royal alliances were concluded between the various reigning houses, and for the first time in the history of Europe we see something like a family of nations, living each within its own boundaries and dealing with one another as independent powers (see map). It seemed for a few years as if the new German kings who had divided up the western portion of the Empire among themselves would succeed in keeping order and in preventing the loss of such civilization as remained.

But no such good fortune was in store for Europe, which was now only at the beginning of the turmoil which was to leave it almost completely barbarized, for there was little to encourage the reading or writing of books, the study of science, or attention to art, in a time of constant warfare and danger.

Cassiodorus and his manuals

Theodoric had a distinguished Roman counselor named Cassiodorus (d. 575), to whose letters we owe a great part of our

[1] The headpiece of this chapter represents the tomb of Theodoric. Emperors and rich men were accustomed in Roman times to build handsome tombs for themselves (see Fig. 8). Theodoric followed their example and erected this two-storied building at Ravenna to serve as his mausoleum. The dome consists of a single great piece of rock 30 feet in diameter, weighing 500 tons, brought from across the Adriatic. Theodoric was a heretic in the eyes of the Catholic Church, and not long after his death his remains were taken out of his tomb and scattered to the winds, and the building converted into a church. The picture represents the tomb as it probably looked originally; it has been somewhat altered in modern times, but is well preserved.

MAP OF EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THEODORIC

It will be noticed that Theodoric's kingdom of the East Goths included a considerable part of what we call Austria to-day, and that the West Gothic kingdom extended into southern France. The Vandals held northern Africa and the adjacent islands. The Burgundians lay in between the East Goths and the Franks. The Lombards, who were later to move down into Italy, were in Theodoric's time east of the Bavarians, after whom modern Bavaria is named. Some of the Saxons invaded England, but many remained in Germany, as indicated on the map. The Eastern Empire, which was all that remained of the Roman Empire, included the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, and the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. The Britons in Wales, the Picts in Scotland, and the Scots in Ireland were Celts, consequently modern Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish are closely related and belong to the Celtic group of languages

knowledge of this period, and who busied himself in his old age in preparing textbooks of the "liberal" arts and sciences, — grammar, arithmetic, logic, geometry, rhetoric, music, and astronomy. His treatment of these seven important subjects, to which he devotes a few pages each, seems to us very silly and absurd and enables us to estimate the low plane to which learning had fallen in Italy in the sixth century. Yet these and similar works were regarded as standard treatises and used as textbooks all through the Middle Ages, while the really great Greek and Roman writers of an earlier period were forgotten.

Scarcely any writers in western Europe during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries

Between the time of Theodoric and that of Charlemagne three hundred years elapsed, during which scarcely a person was to be found who could write out, even in the worst of Latin, an account of the events of his day.[1] Everything conspired to discourage education. The great centers of learning — Carthage, Rome, Alexandria, Milan — had all been partially destroyed by the invaders. The libraries which had been kept in the temples of the pagan gods were often burned, along with the temples themselves, by Christian enthusiasts, who were not sorry to see the heathen books disappear with the heathen religion. Shortly after Theodoric's death the emperor at Constantinople withdrew the support which the Roman government had been accustomed to grant to public teachers, and closed the great school at Athens. The only important historian of the sixth century was the half-illiterate Gregory, bishop of Tours (d. 594), whose whole work is evidence of the sad state of affairs. He at least heartily appreciated his own ignorance and exclaims, in bad Latin, "Woe to our time, for the study of books has perished from among us."

Justinian destroys the kingdoms of the Vandals and the East Goths

The year after Theodoric's death one of the greatest of the emperors of the East, Justinian (527–565), came to the throne at Constantinople. He undertook to regain for the Empire the provinces in Africa and Italy that had been occupied by the Vandals and East Goths. His general, Belisarius, overthrew

[1] See *Readings*, chap. iii (end), for historical writings of this period.

the Vandal kingdom in northern Africa in 534, but it was a more difficult task to destroy the Gothic rule in Italy. However, in spite of a brave resistance, the Goths were so completely defeated in 553 that they agreed to leave Italy with all their movable possessions. What became of the remnants of the race we do not know.

The Lombards occupy Italy

The destruction of the Gothic kingdom was a disaster for Italy, for the Goths would have helped defend it against later and far more barbarous invaders. Immediately after the death of Justinian the country was overrun by the Lombards, the last of the great German peoples to establish themselves within the bounds of the former Empire. They were a savage race, a considerable part of which was still pagan. The newcomers first occupied the region north of the Po, which has ever since been called "Lombardy" after them, and then extended their conquests southward. Instead of settling themselves with the moderation and wise statesmanship of the East Goths, the Lombards moved about the peninsula pillaging and massacring. Such of the inhabitants as could, fled to the islands off the coast. The Lombards were unable, however, to conquer all of Italy. Rome, Ravenna, and southern Italy continued to be held by the emperors who succeeded Justinian at Constantinople. As time went on, the Lombards lost their wildness and adopted the habits and religion of the people among whom they lived. Their kingdom lasted over two hundred years, until it was conquered by Charlemagne (see below, p. 80).

Kingdom of the Franks

The Franks; their importance and their method of conquest

7. The various kingdoms established by the German chieftains were not very permanent, as we have seen. The Franks, however, succeeded in conquering more territory than any other people and in founding an empire far more important than the kingdoms of the West and East Goths, the Vandals, or the Lombards. We must now see how this was accomplished.

When the Franks are first heard of in history they were settled along the lower Rhine, from Cologne to the North Sea. Their method of getting a foothold in the Empire was essentially different from that which the Goths, Lombards, and Vandals had adopted. Instead of severing their connection with Germany and becoming an island in the sea of the Empire, they conquered by degrees the territory about them. However far they might extend their control, they remained in constant touch with their fellow barbarians behind them. In this way they retained the warlike vigor that was lost by the races who were completely surrounded by the luxuries of Roman civilization.

FIG. 10. FRANKISH WARRIOR

It is very hard to find illustrations for a chapter on the barbarian invasions, for this period of disorder was not one in which pictures were being painted or buildings erected. From the slight descriptions we have of the costume worn by the Frankish soldiers, we infer that it was something like that represented here. We know that they wore their hair in long braids and carried weapons similar to those in the picture

In the early part of the fifth century they had occupied the district which forms to-day the kingdom of Belgium, as well as the regions east of it. In 486, seven years before Theodoric founded his Italian kingdom, they went forth under their great king, Clovis (a name that later grew into Louis), and defeated the Roman general who opposed them. They extended their control over Gaul as far south as the Loire, which at that time formed the northern boundary of the kingdom of the West Goths.

Clovis next enlarged his empire on the east by the conquest of the Alemanni, a German people living in the region of the Black Forest.

Conversion of Clovis, 496

The battle in which the Alemanni were defeated (496) is in one respect important above all the other battles of Clovis. Although still a pagan himself, his wife had been converted to Christianity. In the midst of the battle, seeing his troops giving way, he called upon Jesus Christ and pledged himself to be baptized in his name if he would help the Franks to victory over their enemies. When he won the battle he kept his word and was baptized, together with three thousand of his warriors. It is from Bishop Gregory of Tours, mentioned above, that most of our knowledge of Clovis and his successors is derived. In Gregory's famous *History of the Franks* the cruel and unscrupulous Clovis appears as God's chosen instrument for the support of the Christian faith.[1] Certainly Clovis quickly learned to combine his own interests with those of the Church, and, later, an alliance between the pope and the Frankish kings was destined to have a great influence upon the history of western Europe.

Conquests of Clovis

To the south of Clovis's new possessions in Gaul lay the kingdom of the West Goths; to the southeast that of another German people, the Burgundians. Clovis speedily extended his power to the Pyrenees, and forced the West Goths to confine themselves to the Spanish portion of their realm, while the Burgundians soon fell completely under the rule of the Franks. Then Clovis, by a series of murders, brought portions of the Frankish nation itself, which had previously been independent of him, under his scepter.

Bloody character of Frankish history

When Clovis died in 511 at Paris, which he had made his residence, his four sons divided his possessions among them. Wars between rival brothers, interspersed with the most horrible murders, fill the annals of the Frankish kingdom for over a hundred years after the death of Clovis. Yet the nation continued to develop in spite of the unscrupulous deeds of its rulers.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. iii, for passages from Gregory of Tours.

Extent of Frankish realms about 560

The Frankish kings who followed Clovis succeeded in extending their power over pretty nearly all the territory that is included to-day in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, as well as over a goodly portion of western Germany. Half a century after the death of Clovis, their dominions extended from the Bay of Biscay on the west to a point east of Salzburg.

THE DOMINIONS OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE MEROVINGIANS

This map shows how the Frankish kingdom grew up. Clovis while still a young man defeated the Roman general Syagrius in 486, near Soissons, and so added the region around Paris to his possessions. He added Alemannia on the east in 496. In 507 he made Paris his capital and conquered Aquitania, previously held by the West Goths. He also made a beginning in adding the kingdom of the Burgundians to his realms. He died in 511. His successors in the next half century completed the conquest of Burgundy and added Provincia, Bavaria, and Gascony. There were many divisions of the Frankish realms after the time of Clovis, and the eastern and western portions, called Austrasia and Neustria, were often ruled by different branches of the *Merovingians*, as Clovis's family was called from his ancestor *Meroveus*

Results of the Barbarian Invasions

Fusion of the barbarians and the Roman population

8. As one looks back over the German invasions it is natural to ask upon what terms the newcomers lived among the old inhabitants of the Empire, how far they adopted the customs of those among whom they settled, and how far they clung to their old habits? These questions cannot be answered very satisfactorily. So little is known of the confused period of which we have been speaking that it is impossible to follow closely the mixing of the two races.

The number of the barbarians

Yet a few things are tolerably clear. In the first place, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the numbers in the various bodies of invaders. The writers of the time indicate that the West Goths, when they were first admitted to the Empire before the battle of Adrianople, amounted to four or five hundred thousand persons, including men, women, and children. This is the largest band reported, and it must have been greatly reduced before the West Goths, after long wanderings and many battles, finally settled in Spain and southern Gaul. The Burgundians, when they appear for the first time on the banks of the Rhine, are reported to have had eighty thousand warriors among them. When Clovis and his army were baptized, Gregory of Tours speaks of "over three thousand" soldiers who became Christians upon that occasion. This would seem to indicate that this was the entire army of the Frankish king at this time.

Undoubtedly these figures are very meager and unreliable. But the readiness with which the Germans appear to have adopted the language and customs of the Romans would tend to prove that the invaders formed but a small minority of the population. Since hundreds of thousands of barbarians had been absorbed during the previous five centuries, the invasions of the fifth century can hardly have made an abrupt change in the character of the population.

The barbarians within the old Empire were soon speaking the same conversational Latin which was everywhere used by the

Contrast between spoken and written Latin

Romans about them. This was much simpler than the elaborate and complicated language used in books, which we find so much difficulty in learning nowadays. The speech of the common people was gradually diverging more and more, in the various countries of southern Europe, from the written Latin, and finally grew into French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. But the barbarians did not produce this change, for it had begun before they came and would have gone on without them. They did no more than contribute a few convenient words to the new languages.

The Germanic languages

The northern Franks, who did not penetrate far into the Empire, and the Germans who remained in what is now Germany and in Scandinavia, had of course no reason for giving up their native tongues; the Angles and Saxons in Britain also kept theirs. These Germanic languages in time became Dutch, English, German, Danish, Swedish, etc. Of this matter something will be said later (see below, section 47).

No race antipathy

The Germans and the older inhabitants of the Roman Empire appear to have had no dislike for one another, except when there was a difference in religion.[1] Where there was no religious barrier the two races intermarried freely from the first. The Frankish kings did not hesitate to appoint Romans to important positions in the government and in the army, just as the Romans had long been in the habit of employing the barbarians as generals and officials. In only one respect were the two races distinguished for a time — each had its particular law.

The Roman and the German law

The West Goths were probably the first to write down their ancient laws, using the Latin language for the purpose. Their example was followed by the Franks, the Burgundians, and later by the Lombards and other peoples. These codes make up the "Laws of the Barbarians," which form our most important source of knowledge of the habits and ideas of the Germans at the time of the invasions. For several centuries following the

[1] The West and East Goths and the Burgundians were heretics in the eyes of the Catholic Church, for they had been taught their Christianity by missionaries who disagreed with the Catholic Church on certain points.

barbarian conquests, the members of the various German tribes appear to have been judged by the laws of the particular people to which they belonged. The older inhabitants of the Empire, on the contrary, continued to have their lawsuits decided according to the Roman law.

Medieval trials

The German laws did not provide for trials, either in the Roman or the modern sense of the word. There was no attempt to gather and weigh evidence and base the decision upon it. Such a mode of procedure was far too elaborate for the simple-minded Germans. Instead of a regular trial, one of the parties to the case was designated to prove that his side of the case was true by one of the following methods:

Compurgation

1. He might solemnly swear that he was telling the truth and get as many other persons of his own class as the court required, to swear that they believed that he was telling the truth. This was called *compurgation*. It was believed that God would punish those who swore falsely.

Wager of battle

2. On the other hand, the parties to the case, or persons representing them, might meet in combat, on the supposition that Heaven would grant victory to the right. This was the so-called *wager of battle*.

Ordeals

3. Lastly, one or other of the parties might be required to submit to the *ordeal* in one of its various forms: He might plunge his arm into hot water, or carry a bit of hot iron for some distance, and if at the end of three days he showed no ill effects, the case was decided in his favor. Or he might be ordered to walk over hot plowshares, and if he was not burned, it was assumed that God had intervened by a miracle to establish the right.[1] This method of trial is but one example of the rude civilization which displaced the refined and elaborate organization of the Romans.

The account which has been given of the conditions in the Roman Empire, and of the manner in which the barbarians

[1] Professor Emerton gives an excellent account of the Germanic ideas of law in his *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 73–91.

The ignorance and disorder of the early Middle Ages

occupied its western part, serve to explain why the following centuries — known as the early Middle Ages — were a time of ignorance and disorder. The Germans, no doubt, varied a good deal in their habits and character. The Goths differed from the Lombards, and the Franks from the Vandals; but they were all alike in knowing nothing of the art, literature, and science which had been developed by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans. The invaders were ignorant, simple, vigorous people, with no taste for anything except fighting, eating, and drinking. Such was the disorder that their coming produced that the declining civilization of the Empire was pretty nearly submerged. The libraries, buildings, and works of art were destroyed or neglected, and there was no one to see that they were restored. So the western world fell back into a condition similar to that in which it had been before the Romans conquered and civilized it.

The loss was, however, temporary. The great heritage of skill and invention which had been slowly accumulated in Egypt and Greece, and which formed a part of the civilization which the Romans had adopted and spread abroad throughout their great Empire, did not wholly perish.

It is true that the break-up of the Roman Empire and the centuries of turmoil which followed set everything back, but we shall see how the barbarian nations gradually developed into our modern European states, how universities were established in which the books of the Greeks and Romans were studied. Architects arose in time to imitate the old buildings and build a new kind of their own quite as imposing as those of the Romans, and men of science carried discoveries far beyond anything known to the wisest of the Greeks and Romans.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 6. How did the Germans first come into the Roman Empire, and for what reasons? What is meant by the barbarian invasions? Give some examples. Trace the history of the West Goths. Where did they finally establish their kingdom? Why has the

year 476 been regarded as the date of the fall of the Roman Empire? Tell what you can of Theodoric and his kingdom. Contrast the Lombard invaders of Italy with the East Goths.

SECTION 7. Who were the Franks, and how did their invasion differ from that of the other German peoples? What did Clovis accomplish, and what was the extent of the kingdom of the Franks under his successors? Compare the numbers of the barbarians who seem to have entered the Empire with the number of people in our large cities to-day.

SECTION 8. On what terms do the Germans seem to have lived with the people of the Roman Empire? Why are the Laws of the Barbarians useful to the historian? Compare the ways in which the Germans tried law cases with those we use to-day in the United States. Tell as clearly as possible why the Middle Ages were centuries of disorder and ignorance as compared with the earlier period.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

The Christian Church

The popes

9. Besides the emperors at Constantinople and the various German kings, there grew up in Europe a line of rulers far more powerful than any of these, namely, the *popes*. We must now consider the Christian Church and see how the popes gained their great influence.

We have already seen how marvelously the Christian communities founded by the apostles and their fellow missionaries multiplied until, by the middle of the third century, writers like St. Cyprian came to conceive of a "Catholic," or all-embracing, Church. We have seen how Emperor Constantine favored Christianity, and how his successors worked in the interest of the new religion; how carefully the Theodosian Code safeguarded the Church and the Christian clergy, and how harshly those were treated who ventured to hold another view of Christianity from that sanctioned by the government.[1]

[1] See above, section 4.

We must now follow this most powerful and permanent of all the institutions of the later Roman Empire into the Middle Ages. We must stop first to consider how the Western, or Latin, portion of Christendom, which gradually fell apart from the Eastern, or Greek, region, came to form a separate institution under the popes, the longest and mightiest line of rulers that the world has ever seen. We shall see how a peculiar class of Christians, the monks, appeared; how they joined hands with the clergy; how the monks and the clergy met the barbarians, subdued and civilized them, and then ruled them for centuries.

Contrast between pagan and Christian ideas

One great source of the Church's strength lay in the general fear of death and judgment to come, which Christianity had brought with it. The educated Greeks and Romans of the classical period usually thought of the next life, when they thought of it at all, as a very uninteresting existence compared with that on this earth. One who committed some great crime might suffer for it after death with pains similar to those of the hell in which the Christians believed. But the great part of humanity were supposed to lead in the next world a shadowy existence, neither sad nor glad. Religion, even to the devout pagan, was mainly an affair of this life; the gods were worshiped with a view to securing happiness and success in this world.

Since no great satisfaction could be expected in the next life, according to pagan ideas, it was naturally thought wise to make the most of this one. The possibility of pleasure ends — so the Roman poet Horace urges — when we join the shades below, as we all must do soon. Let us, therefore, take advantage of every harmless pleasure and improve our brief opportunity to enjoy the good things of earth. We should, however, be reasonable and temperate, avoiding all excess, for that endangers happiness. Above all, we should not worry uselessly about the future, which is in the hands of the gods and beyond our control. Such were the convictions of the majority of thoughtful pagans.

Other-worldliness of medieval Christianity

Christianity opposed this view of life with an entirely different one. It constantly emphasized man's existence after death, which it declared to be infinitely more important than his brief sojourn on earth. Under the influence of the Church this conception of life gradually supplanted the pagan one in the Roman world, and it was taught to the barbarians.

The monks

The "other-worldliness" became so intense that thousands gave up their ordinary occupations altogether and devoted their entire attention to preparation for the next life. They shut themselves in lonely cells; and, not satisfied with giving up most of their natural pleasures, they inflicted bodily suffering upon themselves by hunger, cold, and other discomforts. They trusted that in this way they might avoid some of the sins into which they were apt to fall, and that, by self-inflicted punishment in this world, they might perchance escape some of that reserved for them in the next.

The Church the one means of salvation

The barbarians were taught that their fate in the next world depended largely upon the Church. Its ministers never wearied of presenting the alternative which faced every man so soon as this short earthly existence should be over, — the alternative between eternal bliss in heaven and perpetual, unspeakable torment in hell. Only those who had been duly baptized could hope to reach heaven; but baptism washed away only past sins and did not prevent constant relapse into new ones. These, unless their guilt was removed through the Church, would surely drag the soul down to hell.

Miracles a source of the Church's power

The divine power of the Church was, furthermore, established in the eyes of the people by the wonderful works which Christian saints were constantly performing. They healed the sick, made the blind to see and the lame to walk. They called down God's wrath upon those who opposed the Church and invoked terrible punishments upon those who treated her holy rites with contempt. To the reader of to-day, the frequency of the miracles narrated by medieval writers seems astonishing. The lives of the saints, of which hundreds and hundreds have

been preserved, contain little else than accounts of them, and no one appears to have doubted their everyday occurrence.[1]

The early churches, basilicas

A word should be said of the early Christian church buildings. The Romans were accustomed to build near their market places a species of public hall, in which townspeople could meet one another to transact business, and in which judges could hear cases, and public officials attend to their duties. These buildings were called *basilicas*. There were several magnificent ones in Rome itself, and there was doubtless at least one to be found in every town of considerable size. The roofs of these spacious halls were usually supported by long rows of columns; sometimes there were two rows on each side, forming aisles. When, after Constantine had given his approval to Christianity, large, fine churches began to be built they were constructed like these familiar public halls and, like them, were called basilicas.

During the sixteen hundred years that have passed since Constantine's time naturally almost all the churches of his day have disappeared or been greatly altered. But the beautiful church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 11) was built only a hundred years later, and gives us an excellent notion of a Christian basilica with its fine rows of columns and its handsome mosaic decorations. In general, the churches were plain and unattractive on the outside. A later chapter will explain how the basilica grew into the Gothic cathedral, which was as beautiful outside as inside.

The Church and the Roman government

The chief importance of the Church for the student of medieval history does not lie, however, in its religious functions, vital as they were, but rather in its remarkable relations to the government. From the days of Constantine on, the Catholic Church had usually enjoyed the hearty support and protection of the government. But so long as the Roman Empire remained strong and active there was no chance for the clergy to free themselves from the control of the emperor, even if they had been disposed to do so. He made such laws for

[1] For reports of miracles, see *Readings*, especially chaps. v, xvi.

the Church as he saw fit, and the clergy did not complain. The government was, indeed, indispensable to them. It undertook to root out paganism by destroying the heathen shrines and preventing heathen sacrifices, and it punished severely those who refused to accept the teachings sanctioned by the Church.

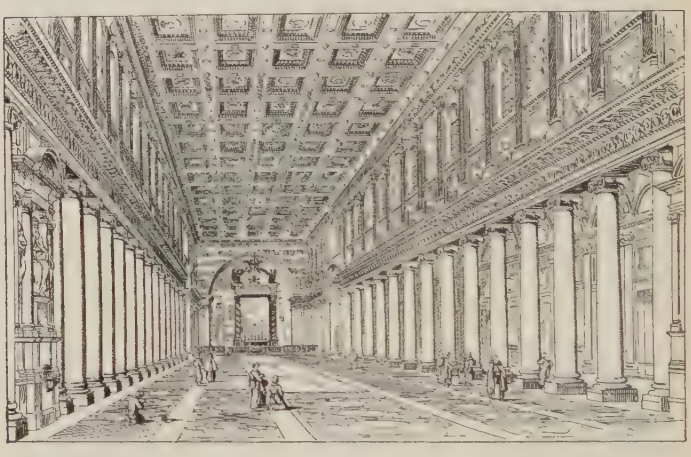


FIG. 11. SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

This beautiful church at Rome was built shortly after Constantine's time, and the interior, here shown, with its stately columns above which are fine mosaics, is still nearly as it was in the time of St. Augustine, fifteen hundred years ago. The ceiling is of the sixteenth century

The Church begins to seek independence

But as the great Empire began to fall apart, there was a growing tendency among the churchmen in the West to resent the interference of the new rulers whom they did not respect. Consequently they managed gradually to free themselves in large part from the control of the government. They then proceeded to assume themselves many of the duties of government, which the weak and disorderly states into which the Roman Empire fell were unable to perform properly.

One of the bishops of Rome (Pope Gelasius I, d. 496) briefly stated the principle upon which the Church rested its claims, as

follows: "Two powers govern the world, the priestly and the kingly. The first is assuredly the superior, for the priest is responsible to God for the conduct of even the emperors themselves." Since no one denied that the eternal interests of mankind, which were under the care of the Church, were infinitely more important than those merely worldly matters which the State regulated, it was natural for the clergy to hold that, in case of conflict, the Church and its officers, rather than the king, should have the last word.

Pope Gelasius's theory of the relation of the Church to the State

Gradually, as we have said, the Church began to undertake the duties which the Roman government had previously performed and which our governments perform to-day, such as keeping order, the management of public education, the trial of lawsuits, etc. There were no well-organized states in western Europe for many centuries after the final destruction of the Roman Empire. The authority of the various barbarian kings was seldom sufficient to keep their realms in order. There were always many powerful landholders scattered throughout the kingdom who did pretty much what they pleased and settled their grudges against their fellows by neighborhood wars. Fighting was the main business as well as the chief amusement of this class. The king was unable to maintain peace and protect the oppressed, however anxious he may have been to do so.

The Church begins to perform the functions of government

Under these circumstances it naturally fell to the Church to keep order, when it could, by either threats or persuasion; to see that contracts were kept, the wills of the dead carried out, and marriage obligations observed. It took the defenseless widow and orphan under its protection and dispensed charity; it promoted education at a time when few laymen, however rich and noble, were able even to read. These conditions serve to explain why the Church was finally able so greatly to extend the powers which it had enjoyed under the Roman Empire, and why it undertook duties which seem to us to belong to the State rather than to a religious organization.

Origin of the Power of the Popes

Origin of papal power

10. We must now turn to a consideration of the origin and growth of the supremacy of the popes, who, by raising themselves to the head of the Western Church, became in many respects more powerful than any of the kings and princes with whom they frequently found themselves in bitter conflict.

Prestige of the Roman Christian community

While we cannot discover in the Theodosian Code any recognition of the supreme headship of the bishop of Rome, there is little doubt that he and his flock had almost from the very first enjoyed a leading place among the Christian communities. The Roman Church was the only one in the West which could claim the distinction of having been founded by the immediate followers of Christ, — the "two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul."

Belief that Peter was the first bishop of Rome

The New Testament speaks repeatedly of Paul's presence in Rome. As for Peter, there had been from early times a tradition, accepted throughout the Christian Church, that he was the first bishop of Rome. This belief appears in the works of Christian writers before the close of the second century. There is, certainly, no conflicting tradition, no rival claimant. The belief itself, whether or not it corresponds with actual events, is a fact of the greatest historical importance. Peter enjoyed a preëminence among the other apostles and was singled out by Christ upon several occasions. In a passage of the New Testament which has affected history more profoundly than the edicts of the most powerful monarch, Christ says: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1]

[1] Matt. xvi, 18–19. Two other passages in the New Testament were held to substantiate the divinely ordained headship of Peter and his successors: Luke xxii, 32, where Christ says to Peter, "Strengthen thy brethren," and John xxi, 15–17, where Jesus said to him, "Feed my sheep." See *Readings*, chap. iv. The keys always appear in the papal arms (see headpiece of this chapter, p. 40).

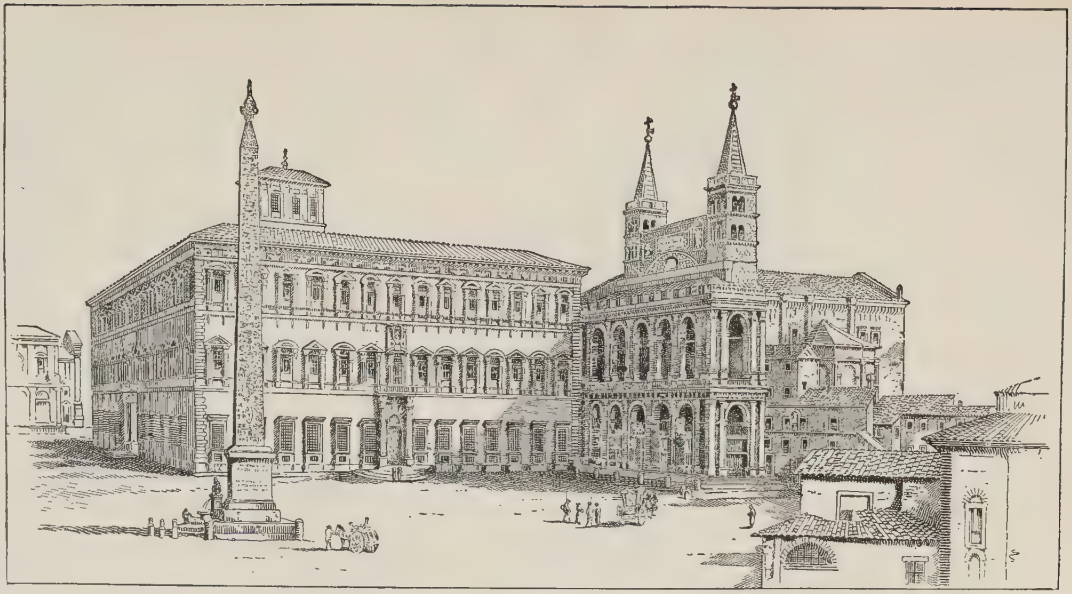


FIG. 12. THE LATERAN PALACE AS IT NOW LOOKS

When Constantine became a Christian he turned over to the Roman bishops a great palace which had formerly belonged to the wealthy Roman family of the Laterani, hence the name Lateran, applied to both the palace and to the church which Constantine built for the popes close to the palace. Here the popes carried on their business for a thousand years, but during the past few centuries they have resided in the Vatican (see legend under Fig. 13). The church of the Lateran claims to be "the mother and head of all the churches of the city and of the world" — *Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput*, as the Latin inscription runs on the present church. An earthquake, successive fires, and great alterations have left little or nothing of the original structure

The Roman Church the mother church

Thus it was natural that the Roman Church should early have been looked upon as the "mother church" in the West. Its doctrines were considered the purest, since they had been handed down from its exalted founders. When there was a difference of opinion in regard to the truth of a particular teaching, it was natural that all should turn to the bishop of Rome for his view. Moreover, the majesty of Rome, the capital of the world, helped to exalt its bishop above his fellows. It was long, however, before all the other bishops, especially those in the large cities, were ready to accept unconditionally the authority of the bishop of Rome, although they acknowledged his leading position and that of the Roman community.

Leo the Great, 440–461

We know comparatively little of the bishops of Rome during the first three or four centuries of the Church's existence. It is only with the accession of Leo the Great (440–461) that the history of the papacy may, in one sense, be said to have begun. At his suggestion, Valentinian III, the emperor in the West, issued a decree in 445 declaring the power of the bishop of Rome supreme, by reason of Peter's headship, and the majesty of the city of Rome. He commanded that the bishops throughout the West should receive as law all that the bishop of Rome approved, and that any bishop refusing to answer a summons to Rome should be forced to obey by the imperial governor.

Decree of Valentinian III

Separating of Eastern from the Western Church

But a council at Chalcedon, six years later, declared that new Rome on the Bosporus (Constantinople) should have the same power in the government of the Church as old Rome on the Tiber. This decree was, however, never accepted in the Western, or Latin, Church, which was gradually separating from the Eastern, or Greek, Church, whose natural head was at Constantinople. Although there were times of trouble to come when for years the claims of Pope Leo appeared an empty boast, still his emphatic assertion of the supremacy of the Roman bishop was a great step toward bringing the Western Church under a single head.[1]

[1] See *Readings*, chap. iv, for development of the pope's power.

The name "pope" (Latin, *papa*, "father") was originally and quite naturally given to all bishops, and even to priests. It began to be especially applied to the bishops of Rome, perhaps as early as the sixth century, but was not apparently confined to them until two or three hundred years later. Gregory VII

Title of pope

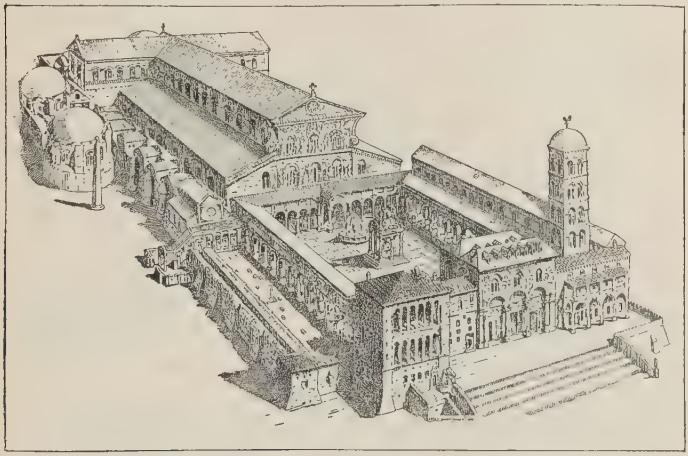


FIG. 13. THE ANCIENT BASILICA OF ST. PETER

Of the churches built by Constantine in Rome that in honor of St. Peter was, next to the Lateran, the most important. It was constructed on the site of Nero's circus, where St. Peter was believed to have been crucified. It retained its original appearance, as here represented, for twelve hundred years, and then the popes (who had given up the Lateran as their residence and come to live in the Vatican palace close to St. Peter's) determined to build the new and grander church one sees to-day. (See section 45, below.) Constantine and the popes made constant use in their buildings of columns and stones taken from the older Roman buildings, which were in this way demolished

(d. 1085; see section 30, below) was the first to declare explicitly that the title should be used only for the bishop of Rome.

Not long after the death of Leo the Great, Odoacer put an end to the Western line of emperors. Then, as we know, Theodoric and his East Goths settled in Italy, only to be

Duties that devolved upon the early popes

followed by still less desirable intruders, the Lombards. During this tumultuous period the people of Rome, and even of all Italy, came to regard the pope as their natural leader. The Eastern emperor was far away, and his officers, who managed to hold a portion of central Italy around Rome and Ravenna, were glad to accept the aid and counsel of the pope. In Rome the pope watched over the elections of the city officials and directed the manner the public money should be spent. He had to manage and defend the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which from time to time had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even gave orders to the generals sent against them.

Gregory the Great, 590–604

The pontificate of Gregory the Great, one of the half dozen most distinguished heads that the Church has ever had, shows how great a part the papacy could play. Gregory, who was the son of a rich Roman senator, had been appointed by the emperor to the honorable office of prefect. He began to fear, however, that his proud position and fine clothes were making him vain and worldly. His pious mother and his study of the writings of Augustine and the other great Christian writers led him, upon the death of his father, to spend all his handsome fortune in founding seven monasteries. One of these he established in his own house and subjected himself to such severe discipline that his health never entirely recovered from it.

Ancient Rome becomes medieval Rome

When Gregory was chosen pope (in 590) and most reluctantly left his monastery, ancient Rome, the capital of the Empire, was already transforming itself into medieval Rome, the capital of Christendom. The temples of the gods had furnished materials for the many Christian churches. The tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul were soon to become the center of religious attraction and the goal of pilgrimages from every part of western Europe. Just as Gregory assumed office a great plague was raging in the city. In true medieval fashion he arranged a solemn procession in order to obtain from heaven a

cessation of the pest. Then the archangel Michael was seen over the tomb of Hadrian (Fig. 14) sheathing his fiery sword as a sign that the wrath of the Lord had been turned away. With Gregory we leave behind us the Rome of Cæsar and Trajan and enter upon that of the popes.

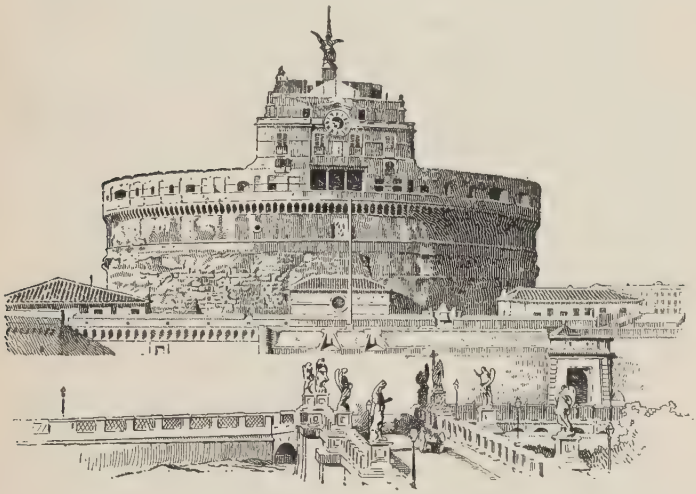


FIG. 14. HADRIAN'S TOMB

The Roman emperor Hadrian (d. 138) built a great circular tomb at Rome, on the west bank of the Tiber, for himself and his successors. It was 240 feet across, perhaps 165 feet high, covered with marble and adorned with statues. When Rome was besieged by the Germans in 537, the inhabitants used the tomb for a fortress and threw down the statues on the heads of the barbarians. Since the time when Gregory the Great saw the archangel Michael sheathing his sword over Hadrian's tomb it has been called the Castle of the Holy Angel

Gregory's writings

Gregory enjoyed an unrivaled reputation during the Middle Ages as a writer. His works show, however, how much less cultivated his period was than that of his predecessors. His most popular book was his *Dialogues*, a collection of accounts of miracles and popular legends. It is hard to believe that it

could have been composed by the greatest man of the time and that it was written for adults.[1] In his commentary on Job, Gregory warns the reader that he need not be surprised to find mistakes in Latin grammar, since in dealing with so holy a work as the Bible a writer should not stop to make sure whether his cases and tenses are right.

Gregory as a statesman

Gregory's letters show clearly what the papacy was coming to mean for Europe when in the hands of a really great man. While he assumed the humble title of "Servant of the servants of God," which the popes still use, Gregory was a statesman whose influence extended far and wide. It devolved upon him to govern the city of Rome, — as it did upon his successors down to the year 1870, — for the Eastern emperor's control had become merely nominal. He had also to keep the Lombards out of central Italy, which they failed to conquer largely on account of the valiant defense of the popes. These duties were functions of the state, and in assuming them Gregory may be said to have founded the "temporal" power of the popes.

Gregory's missionary undertakings

Beyond the borders of Italy, Gregory was in constant communication with the emperor and the Frankish and Burgundian rulers. Everywhere he used his influence to have good clergymen chosen as bishops, and everywhere he watched over the interests of the monasteries. But his chief importance in the history of the papacy is due to the missionary enterprises he undertook, through which the great countries that were one day to be called England, France, and Germany were brought under the sway of the Roman Church and its head, the pope.

As Gregory had himself been a devoted monk it was natural that he should rely chiefly upon the monks in his great work of converting the heathen. Consequently, before considering his missionary achievements, we must glance at the origin and character of the monks, who are so conspicuous throughout the Middle Ages.

[1] He is reckoned, along with Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, as one of the four great Latin "fathers" of the Church. For extracts from Gregory's writings, see *Readings*, chap. iv.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 9. Why is it essential to know about the history of the Church in order to understand the Middle Ages? Compare the Christian idea of the importance of life in this world and the next with the pagan views. Describe a basilica. Mention some governmental duties that were assumed by the Church. Give the reasons why the Church became such a great power in the Middle Ages.

SECTION 10. Why was the Roman Church the most important of all the Christian churches? On what grounds did the bishop of Rome claim to be the head of the whole Church? Did the Christians in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire accept the bishop of Rome as their head? Why did the popes become influential in the governing not only of Rome but of Italy? Tell what you can of Gregory the Great.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONKS AND THEIR MISSIONARY WORK; THE MOHAMMEDANS

Monks and Monasteries

Importance of the monks as a class

11. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence that the monks exercised for centuries in Europe. The proud annals of the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits contain many a distinguished name. The most eminent philosophers, scientists, historians, artists, poets, and statesmen may be found in their ranks. Among those whose achievements we shall mention later are "The Venerable Bede," Boniface, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Fra Angelico, Luther, Erasmus — all these, and many others who have been leaders in various branches of human activity, were monks.

Monasticism appealed to many different classes

The life in a monastery appealed to many different kinds of people. The monastic life was safe and peaceful, as well as holy. The monastery was the natural refuge not only of the religiously minded, but of those of a studious or thoughtful disposition who disliked the career of a soldier and were disinclined to face the dangers and uncertainties of the times. Even the

rude and unscrupulous warriors hesitated to destroy the property or disturb the life of those who were believed to enjoy God's special favor. The monastery furnished, too, a refuge for the friendless, an asylum for the disgraced, and food and shelter for the indolent, who would otherwise have had to earn their living. There were, therefore, many different motives which led people to enter monasteries. Kings and nobles, for the good of their souls, readily gave land upon which to found colonies of monks, and there were plenty of remote spots in the mountains and forests to invite those who wished to escape from the world and its temptations, its dangers or its cares.

Necessity for the regulation of monastic life

Monastic communities first developed on a large scale in Egypt in the fourth century. The idea, however, was quickly taken up in Europe. At the time that the Germans were winning their first great victory at Adrianople, St. Jerome was busily engaged in writing letters to men and women whom he hoped to induce to become monks or hermits. In the sixth century monasteries multiplied so rapidly in western Europe that it became necessary to establish definite rules for these communities which proposed to desert the ordinary ways of the world and lead a holy life apart. Accordingly St. Benedict drew up, about the year 526, a sort of constitution for the monastery of Monte Cassino, in southern Italy, of which he was the head.[1] This was so sagacious, and so well met the needs of the monastic life, that it was rapidly accepted by the other monasteries and gradually became the "rule" according to which all the Western monks lived.[2]

[1] The illustration on page 54 shows the monastery of Monte Cassino. It is situated on a lofty hill, lying some ninety miles south of Rome. Benedict selected a site formerly occupied by a temple to Apollo, of which the columns may still be seen in one of the courts of the present building. The monastery was destroyed by the Lombards not long after its foundation and later by the Mohammedans, so none of the present buildings go back to the time of Benedict.

[2] Benedict did not introduce monasticism in the West, as is sometimes supposed, nor did he even found an *order* in the proper sense of the word, under a single head, like the later Franciscans and Dominicans. Nevertheless, the monks who lived under his rule are ordinarily spoken of as belonging to the Benedictine order. A translation of the Benedictine rule may be found in Henderson, *Historical Documents*, pp. 274–314.

The Rule of St. Benedict

The Rule of St. Benedict is as important as any constitution that was ever drawn up for a state. It is for the most part very wise and sensible. It provided that, since every one is not fitted for the monk's life, the candidate for admission to the monastery should pass through a period of probation, called the *novitiate* before he was permitted to take the solemn, final vows. The brethren were to elect the head of the monastery, the abbot, as he was called. Along with frequent prayer and meditation, the monks were to do the necessary cooking and washing for the monastery and raise the necessary vegetables and grain. They were also to read and teach. Those who were incapacitated for outdoor work were assigned lighter tasks, such as copying books.

The monastic vows

The monk had to take the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. He was to obey the abbot without question in all matters that did not involve his committing a sin. He pledged himself to perpetual and absolute poverty, and everything he used was the property of the convent. He was not permitted to own anything whatsoever — not even a book or a pen. Along with the vows of obedience and poverty, he was also required to pledge himself never to marry. For not only was the single life considered more holy than the married, but the monastic organization would have been impossible unless the monks remained single. Aside from these restrictions, the monks were commanded to live reasonable and natural lives and not to destroy their health, as some earlier ones had done, by undue fasting in the supposed interest of their souls.

The influence of the Benedictine monks upon Europe is incalculable. From their numbers no less than twenty-four popes and forty-six hundred bishops and archbishops have been chosen. They boast almost sixteen thousand writers, some of great distinction. Their monasteries furnished retreats during the Middle Ages, where the scholar might study and write in spite of the prevailing disorder of the times.

The copying of books, as has been said, was a natural occupation of the monks. Doubtless their work was often done

carelessly, with little heart and less understanding. But, with the great loss of manuscripts due to the destruction of libraries and the general lack of interest in books, it was most essential that new copies should be made. Even poor and incorrect ones were better than none. Almost all the books written by the Romans disappeared altogether during the Middle Ages, but from time to time a monk would copy out the poems of Vergil, Horace, or Ovid, or the speeches of Cicero. In this way some of the chief works of the Latin writers have continued to exist down to the present day.

The monks copy, and so preserve the Latin authors

The monks regarded good hard work as a great aid to salvation. They set the example of careful cultivation of the lands about their monasteries and in this way introduced better farming methods into the regions where they settled. They entertained travelers at a time when there were few or no inns and so increased the intercourse between the various parts of Europe.

The monks aided in the material development of Europe

The Benedictine monks were ardent and faithful supporters of the papacy. The Church, which owes much to them, extended to them many of the privileges enjoyed by the clergy. Indeed, the monks were reckoned as clergymen and were called the "regular" clergy, because they lived according to a *regula*, or rule, to distinguish them from the "secular" clergy, who continued to live in the world (*saeculum*) and did not take the monastic vows described above.

The "regular" and "secular" clergy

The home which the monks constructed for themselves was called a monastery or abbey. This was arranged to meet their particular needs and was usually at a considerable distance from any town, in order to insure solitude and quiet.[1] It was modeled upon the general plan of the Roman country house. The buildings were arranged around a court, called the *cloister*. On all four sides of this was a covered walk, which made it possible to reach all the buildings without exposing one's self to either the rain or the hot sun. Not only the Benedictines but all the orders which sprang up in later centuries arranged their homes in much the same way.

Arrangement of a monastery

The cloister

[1] Later monasteries were sometimes built in towns, or just outside the walls.

The abbey church

On the north side of the cloister was the *church*, which always faced west. As time went on and certain groups of monks were given a great deal of property, they constructed very beautiful churches for their monasteries. Westminster Abbey was originally the church of a monastery lying outside the city of

FIG. 15. CLOISTERS OF HEILIGENKREUZ

This picture of the cloister in the German monastery of Heiligenkreuz is chosen to show how the more ordinary monastery courts looked, with their pleasant sunny gardens

London, and there are in Great Britain many picturesque remains of ruined abbey churches which attract the attention of every traveler.

The refectory, lavatory, and dormitory

On the west side of the cloister were storerooms for provisions; on the south side, opposite the church, was the "refectory," or dining room, and a sitting room that could be warmed in cold weather. In the cloister near the dining room was a "lavatory" where the monk could wash his hands before meals. To the east of the cloister was the "dormitory," where the monks slept. This always adjoined the church, for the Rule required that the monks should hold services seven times a day.

One of these services, called vigils, came well before daybreak, and it was convenient when you were summoned in the darkness out of your warm bed to be able to go down a short passage that led from the dormitory into the choir of the church, where the service was held.

The Benedictine Rule provided that the monks should so far as possible have everything for their support on their own land.

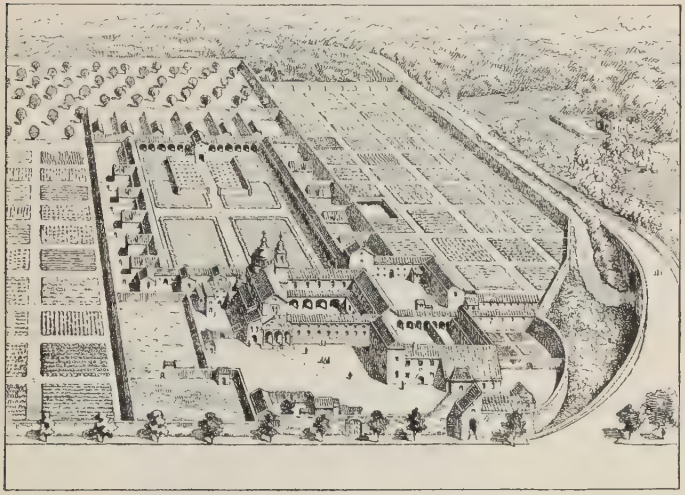


FIG. 16. MONASTERY OF VAL DI CRISTO

This monastery in southern Spain has two cloisters, the main one lies to the left. One can see how the buildings were surrounded by vegetable gardens and an orchard which supplied the monks with food. Compare picture of another monastery (Fig. 26, below)

The outlying portions of the monastery

So outside the group of buildings around the cloister would be found the garden, the orchard, the mill, a fish pond, and fields for raising grain. There were also a hospital for the sick and a guest house for pilgrims or poor people who happened to come along. In the greater monasteries there were also quarters where a king or nobleman might spend a few nights in comfort.

FIG. 17. MELROSE ABBEY

The monastery at Melrose, Scotland, was founded in the eleventh century, but the church of which we here see the ruins was not built until about 1450. Sir Walter Scott in one of his well-known novels, *The Monastery*, describes his impressions of the way in which the monks lived

Missionary Work of the Monks

12. The first great undertaking of the monks was the conversion of those German peoples who had not yet been won over to Christianity. These the monks made not merely Christians, but also dutiful subjects of the pope. In this way the strength of the Roman Catholic Church was greatly increased. The first people to engage the attention of the monks were the heathen German tribes who had conquered the once Christian Britain.

The monks as missionaries

The islands which are now known as the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland were, at the opening of the Christian era, occupied by several Celtic peoples of whose customs and religion we know almost nothing. Julius Cæsar commenced the conquest of the islands (55 B.C.); but the Romans never succeeded in establishing their power beyond the wall which they built, from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, to keep out the wild tribes of the North. Even south of the wall the country was not completely Romanized, and the Celtic tongue has actually survived down to the present day in Wales (see p. 29, above).

Early Britain

At the opening of the fifth century the barbarian invasions forced Rome to withdraw its legions from Britain in order to protect its frontiers on the Continent. The island was thus left to be conquered gradually by the Germans, mainly Saxons and Angles, who came across the North Sea from the region south of Denmark. Almost all record of what went on during the two centuries following the departure of the Romans has disappeared. No one knows the fate of the original Celtic inhabitants of England. It was formerly supposed that they were all killed or driven to the mountain districts of Wales, but this seems unlikely. More probably they were gradually lost among the dominating Germans with whom they merged into one people. The Saxon and Angle chieftains established small kingdoms, of which there were seven or eight at the time when Gregory the Great became pope.

Saxons and Angles conquer Britain

Conversion of Britain

Gregory, while still a simple monk, had been struck with the beauty of some Angles whom he saw one day in the slave market at Rome. When he learned who they were he was grieved that such handsome beings should still belong to the kingdom of the Prince of Darkness, and he wished to go as a missionary to their people, but permission was refused him. So when he became

FIG. 18. ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY

A church built during the period when the Romans were occupying England had been used by Bertha, the Christian wife of the king of Kent. Augustine found this on his arrival in Canterbury and is said to have baptized the king there. It has been rebuilt and added to in later times, but there are many Roman bricks in the walls, and the lower parts of the church as we now see it may go back to the Roman period

pope he sent forty monks to England under the leadership of a prior, named Augustine (who must not be confused with the church father of that name). The heathen king of Kent, in whose territory Augustine and his monks landed with fear and trembling (597), had a Christian wife, the daughter of a Frankish king. Through her influence the monks were kindly received and were given an ancient church at Canterbury, dating from the Roman occupation before the German invasions. Here they

established a monastery, and from this center the conversion, first of Kent and then of the whole island, was gradually accomplished. Canterbury has always maintained its early preëminence and may still be considered the religious capital of England.[1]

England and the Roman Church

England thus became a part of the ever-growing territory embraced in the Roman Catholic Church and remained for nearly a thousand years as faithful to the pope as any other Catholic country.

Early culture in England

The conversion of England by the missionaries from Rome was followed by a period of general enthusiasm for Rome and its literature and culture. The English monasteries became centers of learning unrivaled perhaps in the rest of Europe. A constant intercourse was maintained with Rome. Masons and glass-makers were brought across the Channel to replace the wooden churches of Britain by stone edifices in the style of the Romans. The young English clergy were taught Latin and sometimes Greek. Copies of the ancient classics were brought from the Continent and copied. The most distinguished writer of the seventh and early eighth centuries in Europe was the English monk Bæda (often called "The Venerable Bede," 673–735), from whose admirable history of the Church in England most of our information about the period is derived.[2]

"The Venerable Bede"

St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans

In 718 St. Boniface, an English monk, was sent by the pope as a missionary to the Germans. After four years spent in reconnoitering the field of his future labors, he visited Rome and was made a missionary bishop, taking the same oath of obedience to the pope that the bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome were accustomed to take. Indeed, absolute subordination to the pope was a part of his religion, and he became a powerful agent in extending the papal power.

Conversion of Germany

Boniface succeeded in converting many of the more remote German tribes who still clung to their old pagan beliefs. His energetic methods are illustrated by the story of how he cut

[1] See *Readings*, chap. v, for Gregory's instructions to his missionaries.
[2] See *Readings*, chap. v.

down the sacred oak of the old German god, Odin, at Fritzlar, in Hesse, and used the wood to build a chapel, around which a monastery soon grew up. In 732 Boniface was raised to the dignity of Archbishop of Mayence and proceeded to establish in the newly converted region a number of German bishoprics, Salzburg, Regensburg, Würzburg, and others; this gives us some idea of the geographical extent of his labors.

Mohammed and his Religion

13. Just at the time that Gregory the Great was doing so much to strengthen the power and influence of the popes in Rome, a young Arab camel driver in far away Mecca was meditating upon the mysteries of life and devising a religion which was destined to spread with astounding rapidity into Asia, Africa, and Europe and to become a great rival of Christianity. And to-day the millions who believe in Mohammed as God's greatest prophet are probably equal in number to those who are faithful to the pope, as the head of the Catholic Church.

Arabs before Mohammed

Before the time of Mohammed the Arabs had played no great part in the world's history. The scattered tribes were constantly at war with one another, and each tribe worshiped its own gods, when it worshiped at all. Mecca was considered a sacred spot, however, and the fighting was stopped four months each year so that all could peacefully visit the *Kaaba*, a sort of temple full of idols and containing in particular a black stone, about as long as a man's hand, which was regarded as specially worthy of reverence.

Mecca and the *Kaaba*

Mohammed was poor and earned a living by conducting caravans across the desert. He was so fortunate as to find a rich widow in Mecca, named Kadijah, who gave him employment and later fell in love with him and became his wife. She was his first convert and kept up his courage when few of his fellow townsmen in Mecca were inclined to pay any attention to his new religious teachings.

As Mohammed traveled back and forth across the desert with his trains of camels heavily laden with merchandise he had plenty of time to think, and he became convinced that God was sending him messages which it was his duty to reveal to mankind. He met many Jews and Christians, of whom there were great numbers in Arabia, and from them he got some ideas of the Old and New Testaments. But when he tried to convince people that he was God's prophet, and that the Angel Gabriel had appeared to him in his dreams and told him of a new religion, he was treated with scorn.

Mohammed's revelations from the Angel Gabriel

Finally, he discovered that his enemies in Mecca were planning to kill him, and he fled to the neighboring town of Medina, where he had friends. His flight, which took place in the year 622, is called the *Hejira* by the Arabs. It was taken by his followers as the beginning of a new era — the year One, as the Mohammedans reckon time.

The *Hejira*, 622

A war followed between the people of Mecca and those who had joined Mohammed in and about Medina. It was eight years before his followers became numerous enough to enable him to march upon Mecca and take it with a victorious army. Before his death in 632 he had gained the support of all the Arab chiefs, and his new religion, which he called *Islam* (submission to God), was accepted throughout the whole Arabian peninsula.

Islam

Mohammed could probably neither write nor read well, but when he fell into trances from time to time he would repeat to his eager listeners the words which he heard from heaven, and they in turn wrote them down. These sayings, which were collected into a volume shortly after his death, form the *Koran*, the Mohammedan Bible. This contains the chief beliefs of the new religion as well as the laws under which all good Mohammedans were to live. It has been translated into English several times. Parts of it are very beautiful and interesting, while other portions are dull and stupid to a modern reader.

The *Koran*

The Koran follows the Jewish and Christian religions in proclaiming one God, "the Lord of the worlds, the merciful and

Islam proclaims one God and Mohammed as his prophet

compassionate." Mohammed believed that there had been great prophets before him, — Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among others, — but that he himself was the last and greatest of God's messengers, who brought the final and highest form of religion to mankind. He destroyed all the idols in the Kaaba at Mecca and forbade his followers to make any images whatsoever — but he left the black stone.

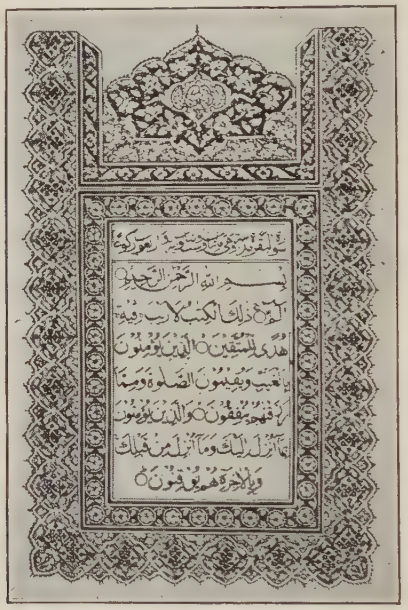


FIG. 19. ARABIC WRITING

This is a page from the Koran, with an elaborate decorated border. It gives an idea of the appearance of Arabic writing. The Arabic letters are, next to the Roman alphabet, which we use, the most widely employed in the world

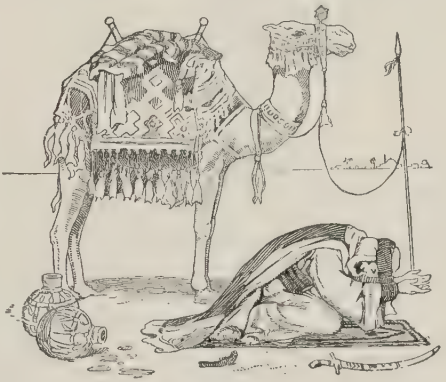
Chief duties of the Mohammedan

Besides serving the one God, the Mohammedan was to honor his parents, aid the poor, protect the orphan, keep his contracts, give full measure, and weigh with a just balance. He was not to walk proudly on the earth, or to be wasteful, "for the wasteful were ever the devil's brothers." He was to avoid, moreover, all strong drink, and this command has saved Mohammed's faithful followers from the terrible degradation which alcohol has made so common in our Western world.

The creed and prayers

Besides obeying these and other commands the Mohammedan who would be saved must do five things: First, he must recite daily the simple creed, "There is no god but God, and

Mohammed is his prophet." Secondly, he must pray five times a day — just before sunrise, just after noon, before and after sunset, and when the day has closed. It is not uncommon to see in well-furnished houses in this country the so-called "prayer rugs" brought from Mohammedan countries. These are spread down on the ground or the flat roof of the oriental house, and on them the worshiper kneels to pray, turning his face toward Mecca and bowing his head to the ground. The pattern on the rug indicates the place where the bowed head is to be placed. Thirdly, the Mohammedan must fast during the whole month of *ramadan;* he may neither eat nor drink from sunrise to sunset, for this is the month in which God sent Gabriel down from the seventh heaven to bring the Koran, which he revealed, paragraph by paragraph, to Mohammed. Fourthly, the Mohammedan must give alms to the poor, and, fifthly, he must, if he can, make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during his lifetime. Tens of thousands of pilgrims flock to Mecca every year. They enter the great courtyard surrounding the Kaaba, which is a plain, almost cubical, building, supposed to have been built in the first place by Abraham. The sacred black stone is fixed in the outside wall at the southeast corner, and the pilgrims must circle the building seven times, kissing the black stone each time as they pass it (Fig. 21).



The fast of ramadan

FIG. 20. MOHAMMEDAN KNEELING ON A PRAYER RUG

Pilgrimage to Mecca

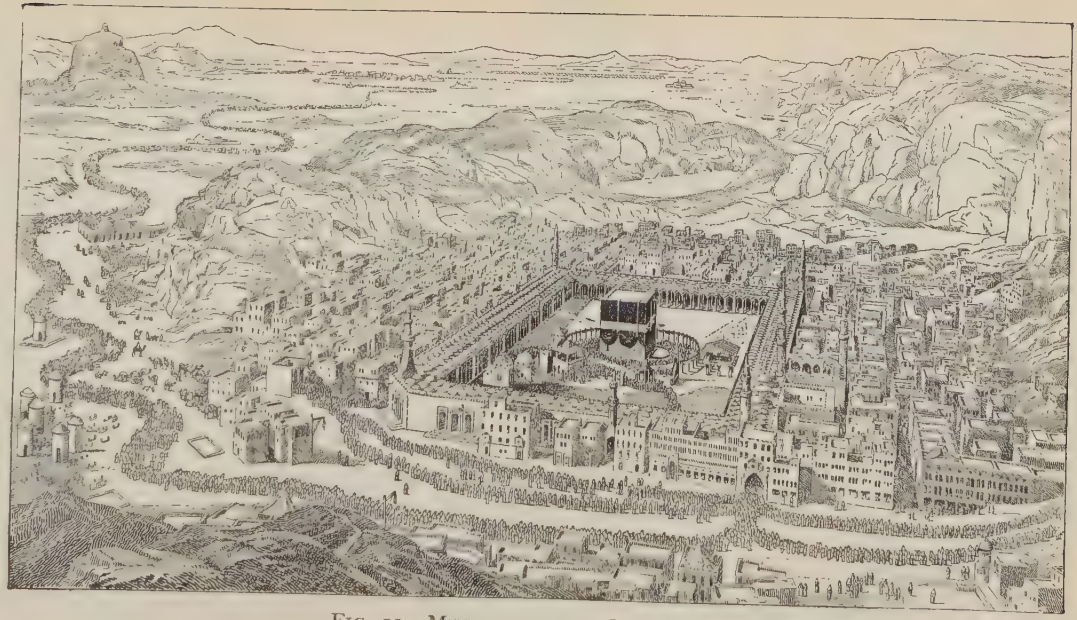


FIG. 21. MECCA AND ITS MOSQUE

Mecca is situated in a barren, rocky region. The sacred building, called the Kaaba, lies in a vast court surrounded by a colonnade with minarets. Into the court the pilgrims are making their way to walk around the Kaaba seven times and kiss the black stone, embedded in the corner of the building, to the left, as we see it. The Kaaba is covered with a great cloth sent each year by the Egyptian government. The old weather-beaten cover is torn up and sold to the pilgrims for relics. The only entrance to the Kaaba is a little door seven feet from the ground, just under the edge of the cloth

STREET SCENE IN CAIRO

Mohammedan Hell

The Koran announces a day of judgment when the heavens shall be opened and the mountains be powdered and become like flying dust. Then all men shall receive their reward. Those who have refused to accept Islam shall be banished to hell to be burned and tormented forever. "They shall not taste therein coolness or drink, save scalding water and running sores," and the scalding water they shall drink like thirsty camels.

Heaven

Those, on the other hand, who have obeyed the Koran, especially those who die fighting for Islam, shall find themselves in a garden of delight. They shall recline in rich brocades upon soft cushions and rugs and be served by surpassingly beautiful maidens, with eyes like hidden pearls. Wine may be drunk there, but "their heads shall not ache with it, neither shall they be confused." They shall be content with their past life and shall hear no foolish words; and there shall be no sin but only the greeting, "Peace, peace."

The mosque

The religion of Mohammed was much simpler than that of the medieval Christian Church; it did not provide for a priesthood or for any great number of ceremonies. The Mohammedan mosque or temple is a house of prayer and a place for reading the Koran; no altars or images or pictures of any kind are permitted in it. The mosques are often very beautiful buildings, especially in great Mohammedan cities, such as Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, and Constantinople. They have great courts surrounded by covered colonnades and are adorned with beautiful marbles and mosaics and delightful windows with bright stained glass. The walls are adorned with passages from the Koran, and the floors covered with rich rugs. They have one or more minarets from which the *muezzin*, or call to prayer, is heard five times a day.

Women and the harem

The Mohammedans, like other Eastern peoples, are very particular to keep the women by themselves in a separate part of the house, called the *harem*, or woman's quarters. They may not go out without the master's permission and even then not without wearing a veil; no man must ever see a respectable

woman's face, except her father, brother, or husband. The Koran permits a man to have as many as four wives, but in practice only the men of the richer classes have more than one. For a woman to attempt to escape from the harem is a crime punishable with death. Sometimes the women seem to lead pleasant lives, but, for the most part, their existence is very monotonous.[1]

Slaves

Slaves are very common in Mohammedan countries, but once they are freed they are as good as any one else and may then hold the highest places in the government.

Conquests of the Mohammedans; the Caliphate

The Arabs' conquests. Caliphs at Damascus

14. Mohammed had occupied the position of pope and king combined, and his successors, who took the title of *caliph* (which means "successor" or "representative"), were regarded as the absolute rulers of the Mohammedans. Their word was law in both religious and worldly matters. Mohammed's father-in-law, Ali, was the first caliph, and under him the Arabs went forth to conquer Syria, Egypt, and the great empire of Persia. The capital of the caliphate was then transferred from Medina to Damascus, which occupied a far better position for governing the new realms. Although the Mohammedans were constantly fighting among themselves, they succeeded in extending their territory so as to include Asia Minor and the northern coast of Africa. A great part of the people whom they conquered accepted the new religion of the prophet.

Caliphs at Bagdad

Something over a hundred years after Mohammed's death a new line of caliphs came into power and established (762) a new capital on the river Tigris near the site of ancient Babylon. This new city of Bagdad became famous for its wealth, magnificence, and learning. It was five miles across and at one time is supposed to have had two millions of inhabitants. In the

[1] The colored plate (opp. p. 68) shows the minarets of a great mosque in Cairo. One can also see the gratings of the upper stories of the houses, through which the women can look out of their harem without being seen from the street.

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT, ABOUT THE YEAR 750

ninth century it was probably the richest and most splendid city in the world.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments

The most entertaining example of Arabic literature which has been translated into English is the *Thousand and One Nights*, or *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, as it is commonly called. These include the story of "Sindbad the Sailor," "Aladdin and the Lamp," "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," and other famous tales. The great collection was got together in Egypt, perhaps in the fifteenth century, but many of the stories are very much older and were translated by the Arabs from the Persian, when the caliphs of Bagdad were at the height of their power. Some of these stories give one a lively idea of Mohammedan manners and customs.

Mohammedans attempt to invade Europe

The Mohammedans made two or three attempts to cross over from Asia into Europe and take Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire, but failed. It was more than eight hundred years after Mohammed's death that the Turks, a Mohammedan people, succeeded in this, and Constantinople is now a Mohammedan city and the Sultan of Turkey is the nominal head of Islam. Long before the Turks captured Constantinople, however, the Arabs at the other end of the caliph's empire had succeeded in crossing the Strait of Gibraltar from Africa and possessing themselves of Spain.

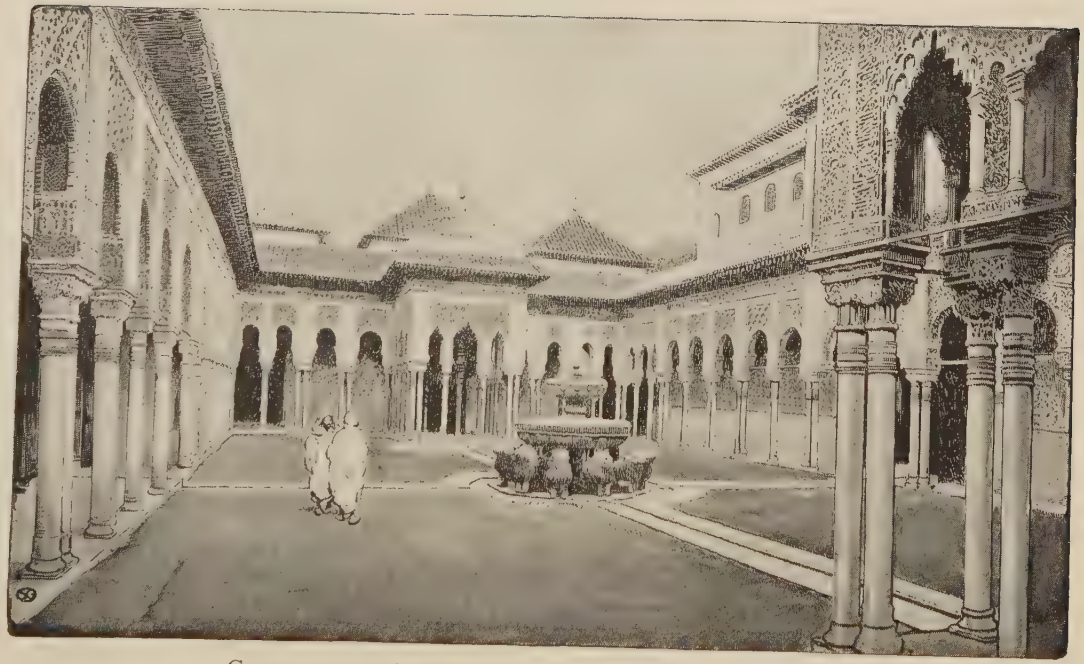
The Arabs in Spain

The kingdom of the West Goths was in no condition to defend itself when a few Arabs and a much larger number of Berbers, inhabitants of northern Africa, ventured to invade Spain. Some of the Spanish towns held out for a time, but the invaders found allies in the numerous Jews, who had been shamefully treated by their Christian countrymen. As for the innumerable serfs who worked on the great estates of the aristocracy, a change of landlords made very little difference to them. In 711 the Arabs and Berbers gained a great battle, and the peninsula was gradually overrun by new immigrants from Africa.

Arabs invade Gaul

In seven years the Mohammedans were masters of almost the whole region south of the Pyrenees. They then began to

INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA (LATTER PART OF TENTH CENTURY)



COURT OF THE LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA (BEGUN IN 1377)

cross into Gaul. For some years the Duke of Aquitaine kept them in check; but in 732 they collected a large army, defeated the duke near Bordeaux, advanced to Poitiers, and then set out for Tours.

Here they met the army of the Franks which Charles the Hammer (Martel), the king's chief minister, had brought together to meet the new danger. We know very little indeed of this famous battle of Tours, except that the Mohammedans were repulsed, and that they never again made any serious attempt to conquer western Europe beyond the Pyrenees. They retired to Spain and there developed a great and prosperous kingdom, far in advance of the Christian kingdoms to the north of them.

Some of the buildings which they erected soon after their arrival still stand. Among these is the mosque at Cordova with its forest of columns and arches.[1] They also erected a great tower at Seville (Fig. 22). This has been copied by the architects of

[1] The great mosque, which the Mohammedan rulers built at Cordova on the site of a Christian church of the West Goths, was second in size only to the

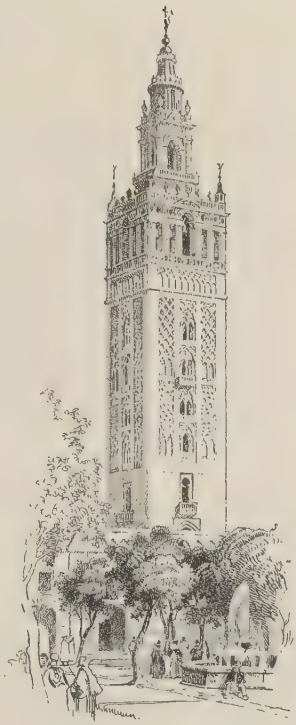


FIG. 22. GIRALDA

This tower, called the Giralda, was originally the great minaret of the chief mosque at Seville. It was built, 1184–1196, out of Roman and West Gothic materials, and many Roman inscriptions are to be seen on the stones used for the walls. Originally the tower was lower than it now is. All the upper part, including the story where the bells hang, was rebuilt by the Christians after they drove the Moors out of the city

Madison Square Garden in New York. The Mohammedans built beautiful palaces and laid out charming gardens. One of these palaces, the Alhambra, built at Granada some centuries after their arrival in Spain, is a marvel of lovely detail. They also founded a great university at Cordova, to which Christians from the North sometimes went in search of knowledge.

Moors far in advance of the Franks

Historians commonly regard it as a matter of great good luck that Charles the Hammer and his barbarous soldiers succeeded in defeating and driving back the Mohammedans at Tours. But had they been permitted to settle in southern France they might have developed science and art far more rapidly than did the Franks. It is difficult to say whether it was a good thing or a bad thing that the Moors, as the Mohammedans in Spain were called, did not get control of a portion of Gaul.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 11. What various reasons led men to enter monasteries? When and where did Christian monasteries originate? Give some of the chief provisions of St. Benedict's Rule. What is meant by the "regular" and the "secular" clergy? Why did the monks sometimes devote part of their time to copying books? Describe the general plan of a monastery.

SECTION 12. Tell about the conversion of the king of Kent. Did England become a part of the medieval Catholic church?

SECTION 13. Give a short account of Mohammed's life. Define *Kaaba*, *Islam*, *Koran*. What does the Mohammedan religion require of its adherents?

SECTION 14. What countries did the Mohammedans conquer during the century following Mohammed's death? Where is Mecca, Bagdad, Damascus, Cordova? Tell what you can of the Moorish buildings in Spain.

Kaaba at Mecca (Fig. 21). It was begun about 785 and gradually enlarged and beautified during the following two centuries, with the hope that it would rival Mecca as a place of pilgrimage. The part represented in the illustration was built by Caliph Al-Hakim, who came to the throne in 961. The beautiful holy of holies (the entrance of which may be seen in the background) is richly adorned with magnificent mosaics. The whole mosque is 570 by 425 feet; that is, about the size of St. Peter's in Rome.

CHAPTER V

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS EMPIRE

Conquests of Charlemagne

How Pippin became king of the Franks, with the pope's approval, 752

15. We have seen how the kings of the Franks, Clovis and his successors, conquered a large territory, including western Germany and what is called France to-day. As time went on, the king's chief minister, who was called the Mayor of the Palace, got almost all the power into his hands and really ruled in the place of the king. Charles Martel, who defeated the Mohammedans at Tours in 732, was the Mayor of the Palace of the western Frankish king. His son, Pippin the Short, finally determined to do away altogether with the old line of kings and put himself in their place. Before taking the decisive step, however, he consulted the pope. To Pippin's question whether it was right that the old line of kings should continue to reign when they no longer had any power, the pope replied: "It seems better that he who has the power in the State should be king, and be called king, rather than he who is falsely called king." With this sanction, then (752), the Frankish counts and dukes, in accordance with the old German ceremony, raised Pippin on their shields, in somewhat the way college boys nowadays carry off a successful football player on their shoulders. He was then anointed king by St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans, of whom we have spoken, and received the blessing of the pope.[1]

It would hardly be necessary to mention this change of dynasty in so short a history as this, were it not that the calling in of the

[1] The old line of kings which was displaced by Pippin are known as the Merovingians. Pippin and his successors are called the Carolingian line.

The coronation of Pippin a religious ceremony

pope brought about a revolution in the ideas of kingship. The kings of the German tribes had hitherto usually been successful warriors who held their office with the consent of the people, or at least of the nobles. Their election was not a matter that concerned the Church at all. But when, after asking the pope's opinion, Pippin had the holy oil poured on his head, — in accordance with an ancient religious custom of the Jews, — first by Bishop Boniface and later by the pope himself, he seemed to ask the Church to approve his usurpation. As the historian Gibbon puts it, "A German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed." The pope threatened with God's anger any one who should attempt to supplant the consecrated family of Pippin.

FIG. 23. CHARLEMAGNE

This bronze figure of Charlemagne on horseback was made in his time, and the artist may have succeeded in reproducing the general appearance of the emperor

Origin of kings "by the grace of God"

It thus became a *religious* duty to obey the king and his successors. He came to be regarded by the Church, when he had received its approval, as God's representative on earth. Here we have the beginning of the later theory of kings "by the grace of God," against whom it was a sin to revolt, however bad they might be. We shall see presently how Pippin's famous son Charlemagne received his crown from the hands of the pope.

Charlemagne, ca. 742–814

Charlemagne, who became king of all the Frankish realms in 771, is the first historical personage among the German peoples of whom we have any satisfactory knowledge.[1] Compared with

[1] "Charlemagne" is the French form for the Latin *Carolus Magnus* (Charles the Great). We must never forget, however, that Charlemagne was a *German*, that he talked a German language, namely Frankish, and that his favorite palaces at Aix-la-Chapelle, Ingelheim, and Nimwegen were in German regions.

him, Theodoric, Clovis, Charles Martel, Pippin, and the rest are but shadowy figures. The chronicles tell us something of their deeds, but we can make only the vaguest inferences in regard to their appearance or character.

Charlemagne's looks, as described by his secretary, so exactly correspond with the character of the king as exhibited in his reign that they are worthy of attention. He was tall and stoutly built; his face was round, his eyes were large and keen, his nose somewhat above the common size, his expression bright and cheerful. The good proportions and grace of his body prevented the observer from noticing that his neck was rather short and his person somewhat too stout. His voice was clear, but rather weak for his big body. He delighted in riding and hunting, and was an expert swimmer. His excellent health and his physical endurance can alone explain the astonishing swiftness with which he moved about his vast realm and conducted innumerable campaigns against his enemies in widely distant regions in rapid succession.

FIG. 24. CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS WIFE

There is no picture of Charlemagne that we can be sure looked like him. The rather comical one here given occurs in a law document of about the year 820 and shows what passed for a picture in those days. It may be meant for Charlemagne and his wife, but some think that it is a religious painting representing the Angel Gabriel announcing the birth of Jesus to the Virgin Mary

His education, his attitude toward learning, and his public spirit

Charles was an educated man for his time, and one who knew how to appreciate and encourage scholarship. While at dinner he had some one read to him; he delighted especially in history, and in St. Augustine's *City of God*. He tried to learn writing, which was an unusual accomplishment at that time for any but churchmen, but began too late in life and got no farther than signing his name. He called learned men to his court and did much toward reëstablishing a regular system of schools. He was also constantly occupied with buildings and other public works calculated to adorn his kingdom. He himself planned the remarkable cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle and showed the greatest interest in its furnishings. He commenced two palaces, one near Mayence and the other at Nimwegen, in Holland, and had a long bridge constructed across the Rhine at Mayence.

The Charlemagne of romance

The impression which his reign made upon men's minds continued to grow even after his death. He became the hero of a whole series of romantic adventures which were as firmly believed for centuries as his real deeds. In the fancy of an old monk in the monastery of St. Gall,[1] writing of Charlemagne not long after his death, the king of the Franks swept over Europe surrounded by countless legions of soldiers who formed a very sea of bristling steel. Knights of superhuman valor formed his court and became the models of knighthood for the following centuries. Distorted but imposing, the Charlemagne of poetry meets us all through the Middle Ages.

A study of Charlemagne's reign will make clear that he was a truly remarkable person, one of the greatest figures in the world's records and deservedly the hero of the Middle Ages.

Charlemagne's idea of a great Christian empire

It was Charlemagne's ideal to bring all the German peoples together into one great Christian empire, and he was wonderfully successful in attaining his end. Only a small portion of what is now called Germany was included in the kingdom ruled

[1] Professor Emerton (*Introduction*, pp. 183–185) gives an example of the style and spirit of the monk of St. Gall, who was formerly much relied upon for knowledge of Charlemagne.

over by Charlemagne's father, Pippin the Short. Frisia and Bavaria had been Christianized, and their rulers had been induced by the efforts of Charlemagne's predecessors and of the missionaries, especially Boniface, to recognize the overlordship of the Franks. Between these two half-independent countries lay the unconquered Saxons. They were as yet pagans and appear still to have clung to much the same institutions as those under which they had lived when the Roman historian Tacitus described them seven centuries earlier.

The conquest of the Saxons

The Saxons occupied the region beginning somewhat east of Cologne and extending to the Elbe, and north to where the great cities of Bremen and Hamburg are now situated. They had no towns or roads and were consequently very difficult to conquer, as they could retreat, with their few possessions, into the forests or swamps as soon as they found themselves unable to meet an invader in the open field. Yet so long as they remained unconquered they constantly threatened the Frankish kingdom, and their country was necessary to the rounding out of its boundaries. Charlemagne never undertook, during his long military career, any other task half so serious as the subjugation of the Saxons, which occupied many years.

Conversion of the Saxons

Nowhere do we find a more striking example of the influence of the Church than in the reliance that Charlemagne placed upon it in his dealings with the Saxons. He deemed it quite as essential that after a rebellion they should promise to honor the Church and be baptized, as that they should pledge themselves to remain true and faithful subjects of the king. He was in quite as much haste to found bishoprics and monasteries as to build fortresses. The law for the newly conquered Saxon lands issued some time between 775 and 790 provides the same death penalty for him who "shall have shown himself unfaithful to the lord king" and him who "shall scorn to come to baptism and shall wish to remain a pagan."

Charlemagne believed the Christianizing of the Saxons so important a part of his duty that he decreed that any one should

suffer death who broke into a church and carried off anything by force. No one, under penalty of heavy fines, was to make vows, in the pagan fashion, at trees or springs, or partake of any heathen feasts in honor of the demons (as the Christians termed the heathen gods), or fail to present infants for baptism before they were a year old.

Coöperation of the civil government and the Church

These provisions are characteristic of the theory of the Middle Ages according to which the government and the Church went hand in hand in ordering and governing the life of the people. Disloyalty to the Church was regarded by the State as quite as serious a crime as treason against itself. While the claims of the two institutions sometimes conflicted, there was no question in the minds either of the king's officials or of the clergy that both the civil and ecclesiastical governments were absolutely necessary; neither of them ever dreamed that they could get along without the other.

Foundation of towns in northern Germany

Before the Frankish conquest the Saxons had no towns. Now, around the seat of the bishop, or about a monastery, men began to collect, and towns and cities grow up. Of these the chief was Bremen, which is still one of the most important ports of Germany.

Charlemagne becomes king of the Lombards

Summoned by the pope to protect him from his old enemies the Lombards, Charlemagne invaded Lombardy in 773 with a great army and took Pavia, the capital, after a long siege. The Lombard king was forced to become a monk, and his treasure was divided among the Frankish soldiers. Charlemagne then took the extremely important step, in 774, of having himself recognized by all the Lombard dukes and counts as king of the Lombards.

Foreign policy of Charlemagne

So far we have spoken only of the relations of Charlemagne with the Germans, for even the Lombard kingdom was established by the Germans. He had, however, other peoples to deal with, especially the Slavs on the east (who were one day to build up the kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia and the vast Russian empire) and, on the opposite boundary of his dominion, the

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
The Hebrides
Jone
Northmen
Swedes
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Bremen
Verden
Nimwegen
Rhine R.
SAXONY
Boulogne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Fulda
Mayence
Prague
Soissons
Paris
Seine R.
Verdun
AUSTRASIA
Lorsch
Regensburg
NEUSTRIA
Orleans
Strasbourg
Loire R.
Tours
Poitiers
BURGUNDY
BAVARIA
AQUITAINE
Lyon
Geneva
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Toulouse
Garonne R.
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARCH
Ebro R.
Ravenna
Lisbon
Tagus R.
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Saragossa
Toledo
Marseille
Florence
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
MT. CASSINO
Guadiana R.
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Balearic Is.
Naples
Amalfi
Salerno
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Cadiz
Tangier
Sardinia
MEDITERRANEAN
Palermo
Carthage
Sicily
Syracuse
MOROCCO
CALIPHATE
Kairouan
Malta
Tripoli
EUROPE
in the time of
CHARLEMAGNE
A. D. 814
Original Possessions
Conquest by Charlemagne
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
Longitude
20
10
60
0
10
50
40
30

30
40
60
50
60
Novgorod
RACES
NIC
50
Kiev
Dnieper R.
(Magyars)
CASPIAN SEA
Hungarians
Cherson
BLACK SEA
40
Danube
LGARIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Trapezus
Araxes
Nicæa
Angora
PHRYGIA
Edessa
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
Iconium
Antioch
Rhodes
Cyprus
Crete
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Damascus
Nazareth
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
30
Alexandria
Pelusium
Greenwich
30
40

Moors in Spain. Against these it was necessary to protect his realms, and the second part of Charlemagne's reign was devoted to what may be called his foreign policy. A single campaign in 789 seems to have sufficed to subdue the Slavs, who lay to the north and east of the Saxons, and to force the Bohemians to acknowledge the supremacy of the Frankish king and pay tribute to him.

The marches and margraves

The necessity of protecting the Frankish realms against any new uprising of these non-German nations led to the establishment, on the confines of the kingdom, of *marches*, that is, districts under the military control of counts of the march, or *margraves*.[1] Their business was to prevent any invasion of the interior of the kingdom. Much depended upon the efficiency of these men; in many cases they founded powerful families and later helped to break up the empire by establishing themselves as practically independent rulers.

Charlemagne in Spain

At an assembly that Charlemagne held in 777, ambassadors appeared before him from certain dissatisfied Mohammedans in Spain. They had fallen out with the emir of Cordova[2] and now offered to become the faithful subjects of Charlemagne if he would come to their aid. In consequence of this embassy he undertook his first expedition to Spain in the following year. After some years of war the district north of the Ebro was conquered by the Franks, and Charlemagne established there the Spanish march. In this way he began that gradual expulsion of the Mohammedans from the peninsula, which was to be carried on by slowly extending conquests until 1492, when Granada, the last Mohammedan stronghold, fell.

[1] The king of Prussia still has, among other titles, that of Margrave of Brandenburg. The German word *Mark* is often used for "march" on maps of Germany. In English and French the title is "Marquis."

[2] The Mohammedan caliphate broke up in the eighth century, and the ruler of Spain first assumed the title of emir (about 756) and later (929) that of caliph. The latter title had originally been enjoyed only by the head of the whole Arab empire, who had his capital at Damascus, and later at Bagdad.

Establishment of a Line of Emperors in the West

Charlemagne crowned emperor by the pope

16. But the most famous of all the achievements of Charlemagne was his reëstablishment of the Western Empire in the year 800. It came about in this wise. Charlemagne went to Rome in that year to settle a dispute between Pope Leo III and his enemies. To celebrate the satisfactory settlement of the dispute, the pope held a solemn service on Christmas Day in St. Peter's. As Charlemagne was kneeling before the altar during this service, the pope approached him and set a crown upon his head, saluting him, amid the acclamations of those present, as "Emperor of the Romans."

Charlemagne merited the title of emperor

The reasons for this extraordinary act, which Charlemagne insisted took him completely by surprise, are given in one of the Frankish histories, the *Chronicles of Lorsch*, as follows: "The name of Emperor had ceased among the Greeks, for they were under the reign of a woman [the Empress Irene], wherefore it seemed good both to Leo, the apostolic pope, and to the bishops who were in council with him, and to all Christian men, that they should name Charles, King of the Franks, as Emperor. For he held Rome itself, where the ancient Cæsars had always dwelt, in addition to all his other possessions in Italy, Gaul, and Germany. Wherefore, as God had granted him all these dominions, it seemed just to all that he should take the title of Emperor, too, when it was offered to him at the wish of all Christendom."

Charlemagne appears to have accepted gracefully the honor thus thrust upon him. Even if he had no right to the imperial title, it was obviously proper and wise to grant it to him under the circumstances. Before his coronation by the pope he was only king of the Franks and of the Lombards; but his conquests seemed to give him a right to a higher title which should include all his outlying realms.

The empire thus reëstablished in the West was considered to be a continuation of the Roman Empire founded by Augustus.

Charlemagne was reckoned the immediate successor of the emperor at Constantinople, Constantine VI, whom Irene had deposed and blinded. Yet, it is hardly necessary to say that the position of the new emperor had little in common with that of Augustus or Constantine. In the first place, the eastern emperors continued to reign in Constantinople for centuries, quite regardless of Charlemagne and his successors. In the second place, the German kings who wore the imperial crown after Charlemagne were generally too weak really to rule over Germany and northern Italy, to say nothing of the rest of western Europe. Nevertheless, the Western Empire, which in the twelfth century came to be called the Holy Roman Empire, endured for over a thousand years. It came to an end only in 1806, when Napoleon reconstructed southern Germany and the last of the emperors laid down the crown.

Continuity of the Roman Empire

The assumption of the title of emperor was destined to make the German rulers a great deal of trouble. It constantly led them into unsuccessful efforts to keep control over Italy, which really lay outside their natural boundaries. Then the circumstances under which Charlemagne was crowned made it possible for the popes to claim, later, that it was they who had transferred the imperial power from the old eastern line of emperors to Charlemagne and his family, and that this was a proof of their right to dispose of the crown as they pleased. The difficulties which arose necessitated many a weary journey to Rome for the emperors, and many unfortunate conflicts between them and the popes.

The title of emperor a source of trouble to the German rulers

How Charlemagne carried on his Government

17. The task of governing his vast dominions taxed even the highly gifted and untiring Charlemagne; it was quite beyond the power of his successors. The same difficulties continued to exist that had confronted Charles Martel and Pippin — above all, a scanty royal revenue and overpowerful officials, who were apt to neglect the interests and commands of their sovereign.

Difficulty of governing so large an empire

Charlemagne's farms

Charlemagne's income, like that of all medieval rulers, came chiefly from his royal estates, as there was no system of general taxation such as had existed under the Roman Empire. He consequently took the greatest care that his numerous plantations should be well cultivated, and that not even a turnip or an egg which was due him should be withheld. An elaborate set of regulations for his farms is preserved, which sheds much light upon the times.[1]

Origin of titles of nobility

The officials upon whom the Frankish kings were forced to rely chiefly were the counts, the "hand and voice of the king" wherever he could not be in person. They were expected to maintain order, see that justice was done in their district, and raise troops when the king needed them. On the frontier were the counts of the march, or margraves (marquises), already mentioned. These titles, together with that of duke, still exist as titles of nobility in Europe, although they are no longer associated with any governmental duties except in cases where their holders have the right to sit in the upper House of Parliament.

Charlemagne held assemblies of the nobles and bishops of his realm each spring or summer, at which the interests of the empire were considered. With the sanction of his advisers he issued an extraordinary series of laws, called *capitularies*, a number of which have been preserved. With the bishops and abbots he discussed the needs of the Church, and, above all, the necessity of better schools for both the clergy and laity. The reforms which he sought to introduce give us an opportunity of learning the condition in which Europe found itself after four hundred years of disorder.

The dark century before Charlemagne

Charlemagne was the first important king since Theodoric to pay any attention to book learning. About 650 the supply of papyrus — a kind of paper that the Greeks and Romans used — had been cut off, owing to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, and as our kind of paper had not yet been invented,

[1] See extracts from these regulations, and an account of one of Charlemagne's farms, in *Readings*, chap. vii.

there was only the very expensive parchment to write upon. While this had the advantage of being more durable than papyrus, its high cost discouraged the copying of books. The eighth century — that immediately preceding Charlemagne's coronation — is commonly regarded as the most ignorant, the darkest, and the most barbarous period of the Middle Ages.

The elements of learning preserved by the Church

Yet, in spite of this dark picture, there was promise for the future. It was evident, even before Charlemagne's time, that Europe was not to continue indefinitely in the path of ignorance. Latin could not be forgotten, for that was the language of the Church, and all its official communications were in that tongue. Consequently it was absolutely necessary that the Church should maintain some sort of education in order that there might be persons who knew enough to write a Latin letter and conduct the church services. Some of those who learned Latin must have used it to read the old books written by the Romans. Then the textbooks of the later Roman Empire[1] continued to be used, and these, poor as they were, contained something about grammar, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and other subjects.

It seemed to Charlemagne that it was the duty of the Church not only to look after the education of its own officers but to provide the opportunity of at least an elementary education for the people at large. In accordance with this conviction, he issued (789) an order to the clergy to gather together the children of both freemen and serfs in their neighborhood and establish schools "in which the boys may learn to read."[2]

Establishment of monastery schools and the "School of the palace"

It would be impossible to say how many of the abbots and bishops established schools in accordance with Charlemagne's recommendations. It is certain that famous centers of learning existed at Tours, Fulda, Corbie, Orleans, and other places during his reign. Charlemagne further promoted the cause of education by the establishment of the famous "School of the palace" for the instruction of his own children and the sons of his nobles. He placed the Englishman Alcuin at the head of the school,

[1] See above, p. 30.

[2] See *Readings*, chap. vii.

and called distinguished men from Italy and elsewhere as teachers. The best known of these was the historian Paulus Diaconus, who wrote a history of the Lombards, to which we owe most of what we know about them.

Charlemagne chiefly interested in religious books

Charlemagne appears to have been particularly impressed with the constant danger of mistakes in copying books, a task frequently turned over to ignorant and careless persons. He thought it very important that the religious books should be carefully copied. It should be noted that he made no attempt to revive the learning of Greece and Rome. He deemed it quite sufficient if the churchmen would learn their Latin well enough to read the church services and the Bible intelligently.

Discouragements to education after Charlemagne's time

The hopeful beginning that was made under Charlemagne in the revival of education was destined to prove disappointing in its immediate results. It is true that the ninth century produced a few noteworthy men who have left works which indicate acuteness and mental training. But the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, the struggles between his descendants, the coming of new barbarians, and the disorder caused by the unruly feudal lords, who were not inclined to recognize any master, all combined to keep Europe back for at least two centuries more. Indeed, the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century seem, at first sight, little better than the seventh and the eighth. Yet ignorance and disorder never were quite so prevalent after, as they were before, Charlemagne.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 15. Explain the importance of the coronation of Pippin. Describe Charlemagne's appearance and character. How did the Church coöperate with Charlemagne in his efforts to incorporate the Saxons in his empire?

SECTION 16. What led to Charlemagne's becoming emperor? What modern countries did his empire include?

SECTION 17. What were the chief sources of Charlemagne's revenue? How did titles of nobility originate in medieval Europe? What did Charlemagne do for education?

CHAPTER VI

THE AGE OF DISORDER; FEUDALISM

The Disruption of Charlemagne's Empire

Division of Charlemagne's empire

18. It was a matter of great importance to Europe whether Charlemagne's extensive empire held together or fell apart after his death in 814. He does not seem to have had any expectation that it would hold together, because some years before his death he arranged that it should be divided among his three sons. But as two of these died before he did, it fell into the hands of the only surviving son, Louis, who succeeded his august father as king of all the various parts of the Frankish domains and was later crowned emperor.

Division of Frankish empire into three kingdoms at Mersen, 870

Louis, called the "pious," proved a feeble ruler. He tried all sorts of ways of dividing the empire peaceably among his rebellious and unruly sons, but he did not succeed, and after his death they, and their sons as well, continued to fight over the question of how much each should have. It is not necessary to speak of the various temporary arrangements that were made. Finally, it was agreed in 870, by the Treaty of Mersen,

that there should be three states, a West Frankish kingdom, an East Frankish kingdom, and a kingdom of Italy. The West Frankish realm corresponded roughly with the present boundaries of France and Belgium. Its people talked dialects derived from the spoken Latin, which the Romans had introduced after their army, under the command of Julius Cæsar, conquered Gaul. The East Frankish kingdom included the rest of Charlemagne's empire outside of Italy and was German in language.

MAP OF TREATY OF MERSEN

This map shows the division of Charlemagne's empire made in 870 by his descendants in the Treaty of Mersen

Obstacles to maintaining order

Each of the three realms established by the Treaty of Mersen was destined finally to grow into one of the powerful modern states which we see on the map of Europe to-day, but hundreds of years elapsed before the kings grew strong enough to control their subjects, and the Treaty of Mersen was followed by several centuries of constant disorder and local warfare. Let us consider the difficulties which stood in the way of peace.

In the first place, a king found it very hard to get rapidly from one part of his realms to another in order to put down rebellions, for the remarkable roads which the Romans had so carefully constructed to enable their armies to move about had fallen into disrepair. Bad roads

To have good roads one must be constantly working on them, for the rains wash them out and the floods carry away the bridges. As there was no longer a body of engineers employed by the government to keep up the roads and repair the bridges, they often became impassable. In the East Frankish kingdom matters must have been worse than in the West Frankish realm, for the Romans had never conquered Germany and consequently no good roads had ever been constructed there.

Besides the difficulty of getting about quickly and easily, the king had very little money. This was one of the chief troubles of the Middle Ages. There are not many gold or silver mines in western Europe, and there was no supply of precious metals from outside, for commerce had largely died out. So the king had no treasury from which to pay the many officials which an efficient government finds it necessary to employ to do its business and to keep order. As we have seen, he had to give his officers, the counts and margraves, *land* instead of *money*, and their land was so extensive that they tended to become rulers themselves within their own possessions. Lack of money to pay government officials

Of course the king had not money enough to support a standing army, which would have enabled him to put down the constant rebellions of his distant officers and of the powerful and restless nobility whose chief interest in life consisted in fighting. No permanent army

In addition to the weakness and poverty of the kings there was another trouble, — and that the worst of all, — namely, the constant new invasions from all directions which kept all three parts of Charlemagne's empire, and England besides, in a constant state of terror and disaster. These invasions were almost as bad as those which had occurred before Charlemagne's time; they prevented western Europe from becoming peaceful and New invasions

prosperous and serve to explain the dark period of two hundred years which followed the break-up of Charlemagne's empire.

The Mohammedans attack Italy and southern France

We know how the Mohammedans had got possession of northern Africa and then conquered Spain, and how Charles Martel had frustrated their attempt to add Gaul to their possessions. But this rebuff did not end their attacks on southern Europe. They got control of the island of Sicily shortly after

FIG. 25. AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The great Roman amphitheater at Arles (built probably in the first or second century) is about fifteen hundred feet in circumference. During the eighth century, when the Mohammedans were invading southern France, it was converted into a fortress. Many of the inhabitants settled inside its walls, and towers were constructed, which still stand. The picture shows it before the dwellings were removed, about 1830

Charlemagne's death, and then began to terrorize Italy and southern France. Even Rome itself suffered from them. The accompanying picture shows how the people of Arles, in southern France, built their houses inside the old Roman amphitheater in order to protect themselves from these Mohammedan invaders.

Slavs and Hungarians

On the east the German rulers had constantly to contend with the Slavs. Charlemagne had defeated them in his time, as

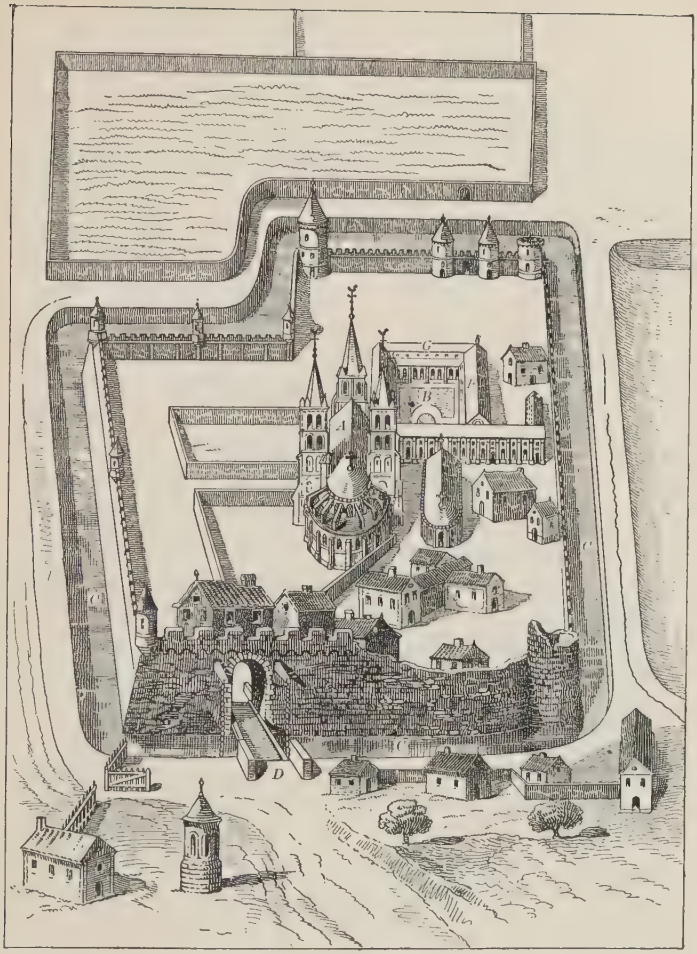


FIG. 26. MONASTERY OF ST. GERMAIN DES PRÈS, PARIS

This famous monastery, now in the midst of Paris, was formerly outside of the walls when the town was much smaller, and was fortified as shown in the picture, with a moat (*C*) and drawbridge (*D*). One can see the abbey church (*A*), which still stands; the cloister (*B*); the refectory, or dining room (*E*); and the long dormitory (*G*). It was common in the age of disorder to fortify monasteries and sometimes even churches, as nothing was so sacred as to protect it from the danger of attack

mentioned above, but they continued to make much trouble for two centuries at least. Then there were also the Hungarians, a savage race from Asia, who ravaged Germany and northern Italy and whose wild horsemen penetrated even into the West Frankish kingdom. Finally, they were driven back eastward and settled in the country now named after them — Hungary.

The Northmen

And lastly there came the Northmen, bold and adventurous pirates from the shores of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. These skillful and daring seamen not only attacked the towns on the coast of the West Frankish kingdom but made their way up the rivers, plundering and burning the villages and towns as far inland as Paris. In England we shall find them, under the name of Danes, invading the country and forcing Alfred the Great to recognize them as the masters of northern England.[1]

So there was danger always and everywhere. If rival nobles were not fighting one another, there were foreign invaders of some kind devastating the country, bent on robbing, maltreating, and enslaving the people whom they found in towns and villages and monasteries. No wonder that strong castles had to be built and the towns surrounded by walls; even the monasteries, which were not of course respected by pagan invaders, were in some cases protected by fortifications.

Growing power and independence of the great landowners

In the absence of a powerful king with a well-organized army at his back, each district was left to look out for itself. Doubtless many counts, margraves, bishops, and other great landed proprietors who were gradually becoming independent princes earned the loyalty of the people about them by taking the lead in defending the country against its invaders and by establishing fortresses as places of refuge when the community was hard pressed. These conditions serve to explain why such government as continued to exist during the centuries following the death of Charlemagne was necessarily carried on mainly, not by the king and his officers, but by the great landholders.

[1] These Scandinavian pirates are often called *vikings*, from their habit of leaving their long boats in the *vik*, which meant, in their language, "bay" or "inlet."

The Medieval Castle

19. As one travels through England, France, or Germany to-day he often comes upon the picturesque ruins of a medieval castle perched upon some rocky cliff and overlooking the surrounding country for miles. As he looks at the thick walls often surrounded by a deep, wide trench once filled with water, The medieval castle

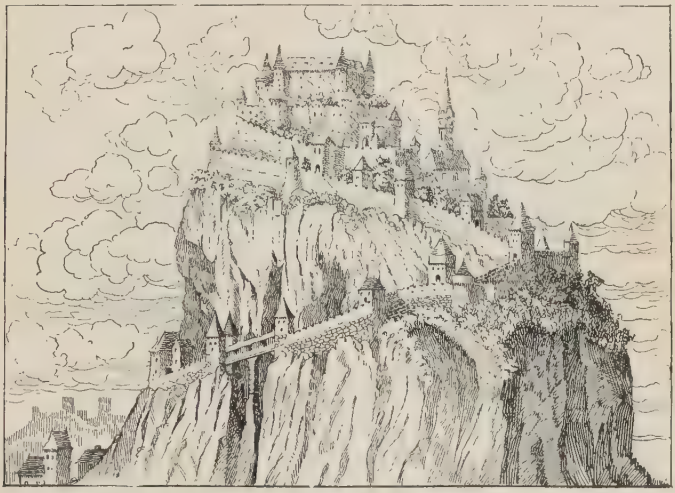


Fig. 27. A Medieval Castle near Klagenfurt, Austria

It was not uncommon in mountainous regions to have fortresses perched so high on rocky eminences that it was practically impossible to capture them

and observes the great towers with their tiny windows, he cannot but wonder why so many of these forts were built, and why people lived in them. It is clear that they were never intended to be dwelling places for the peaceful households of private citizens; they look rather like the fortified palace of a ruler.

Obviously, whoever lived there was in constant expectation of being attacked by an army, for otherwise he would never have

gone to the trouble and expense of shutting himself up in those dreary, cold, stone rooms, behind walls from ten to twenty feet thick. We can picture the great hall of the castle crowded with the armed followers of the master of the house, ready to fight for him when he wished to make war on a neighbor; or if he himself were attacked, they would rush to the little windows and shoot arrows at those who tried to approach, or

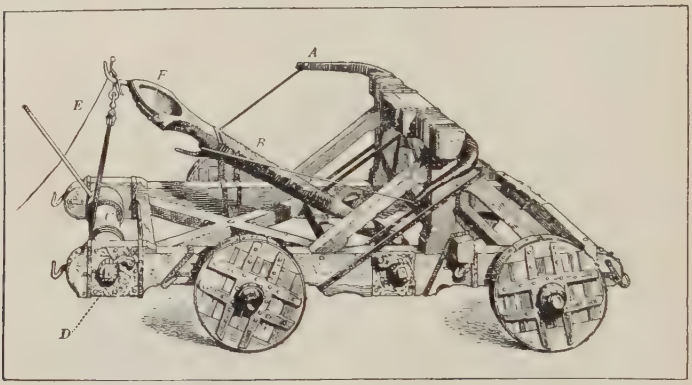


FIG. 28. MACHINE FOR HURLING STONES

This was a medieval device for throwing stones and bolts of iron, which were often heated red hot before they were fired. It consisted of a great bow (*A*) and the beam (*B*), which was drawn back by the windlass (*C*) turned by a crank applied at the point (*D*). Then a stone was put in the pocket (*F*) and the trigger pulled by means of the string (*E*). This let the beam fly up with a bang against the bumper, and the missile went sailing against the wall or over it among the defenders of the castle

pour lighted pitch or melted lead down on their enemies if they were so bold as to get close enough to the walls.

The Roman *castrum*

The Romans had been accustomed to build walls around their camps, and a walled camp was called *castrum;* and in such names as Rochester, Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, we have reminders of the fact that these towns were once fortresses. These camps, however, were all *government* fortifications and did not belong to private individuals.

Early castles

But as the Roman Empire grew weaker and the disorder caused by the incoming barbarians became greater, the various counts and dukes and even other large landowners began to build forts for themselves, usually nothing more than a great round mound of earth surrounded by a deep ditch and a wall made of stakes interwoven with twigs. On the top of the mound was a wooden fortress, surrounded by a fence or palisade,

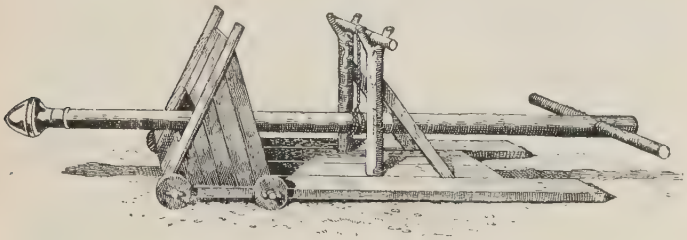


FIG. 29. MEDIEVAL BATTERING-RAM

This is a simple kind of a battering ram which was trundled up to the walls of a besieged castle and then swung back and forth by a group of soldiers, with the hope of making a breach. The men were often protected by a covering over the ram

similar to the one at the foot of the mound. This was the type of "castle" that prevailed for several centuries after Charlemagne's death. There are no remains of these wooden castles in existence, for they were not the kind of thing to last very long, and those that escaped being burned or otherwise destroyed, rotted away in time.

Improved methods of attack lead to use of stone towns about 1100

About the year 1100 these wooden buildings began to be replaced by great square stone towers. This was due to the fact that the methods of attacking castles had so changed that wood was no longer a sufficient protection. The Romans when they besieged a walled town were accustomed to hurl great stones and heavy-pointed stakes at the walls and over them. They had ingenious machines for this purpose, and they also had ways of

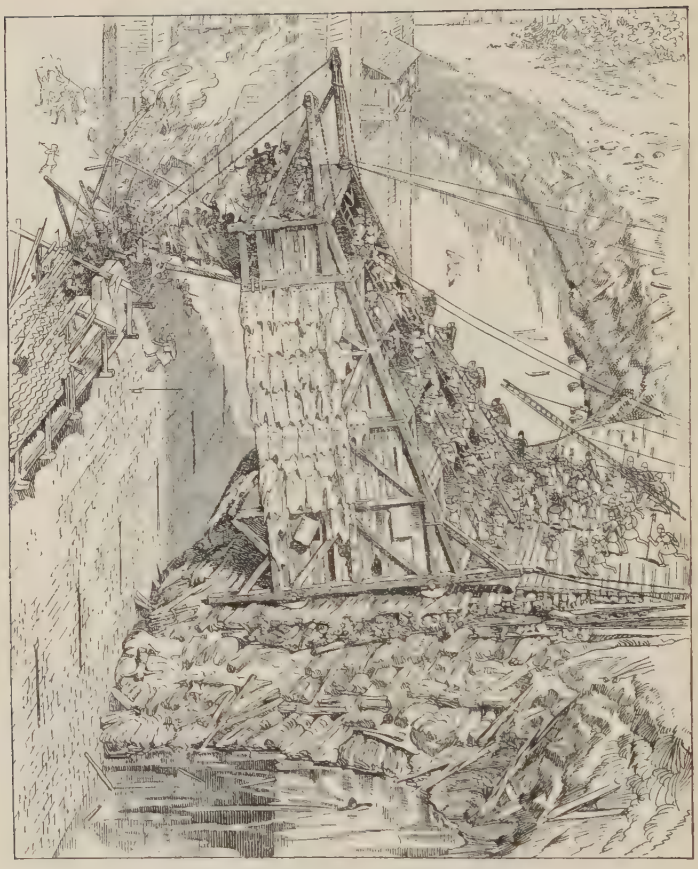


FIG. 30. MOVABLE TOWER

This attacking tower was rolled up to the wall of the besieged town after the moat had been filled up at the proper point. The soldiers then swarmed up the outside and over a bridge onto the wall. Skins of animals were hung on the side to prevent the tower from being set on fire

protecting their soldiers when they crept up to the walls with their battering-rams and pickaxes in the hope of making a breach and so getting into the town. But the German barbarians who overran the Roman Empire were unaccustomed to these machines which therefore had fallen into disuse. But the practice of taking towns by means of them was kept up in the Eastern Empire, and during the Crusades, which, as we shall see, began about 1100 (see Chapter IX, below), they were introduced once more into western Europe, and this is the reason why stone castles began to be built about that time.

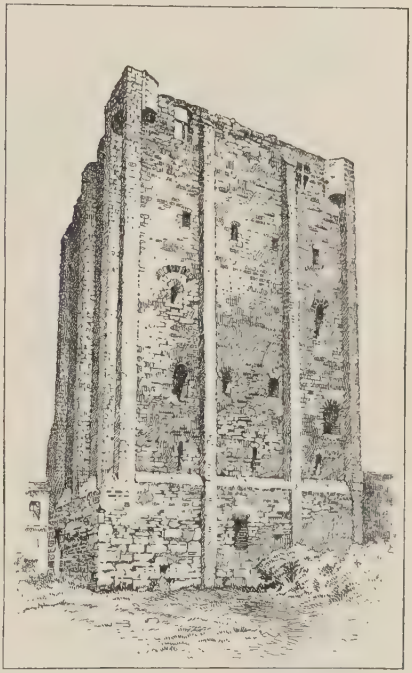


FIG. 31. TOWER OF BEAUGENCY

This square donjon not far from Orléans, France, is one of the very earliest square towers that survive. It is a translation into stone of the wooden donjons that prevailed up to that time. It was built about 1100 just after the beginning of the First Crusade. It is about 76 by 66 feet in size and 115 feet high

A square tower (Fig. 31) can, however, be more easily attacked than a round tower, which has no corners, so a century later round towers became the rule and continued to be used until about the year 1500, when gunpowder and cannon had become so common that even the strongest castle could no longer be defended,

for it could not withstand the force of cannon balls. The accompanying pictures give an idea of the stone castles built from about 1100 to 1450 or 1500. They also show how a stone-throwing machine, such as was used before the invention of cannon, was constructed (Fig. 28).

General arrangement of a castle

As we have no remains or good pictures of the early wooden castles on a mound, we must get our notions of the arrangement of a castle from the later stone fortresses, many of which can still be found in Europe. When the castle was not on a steep rocky hill, which made it very hard to approach, a deep ditch was constructed outside the walls, called the *moat*. This was filled with water and crossed by a bridge, which could be drawn up when the castle was attacked, leaving no way of getting across. The doorway was further protected by a grating of heavy planks, called the *portcullis*, which could be quickly dropped down to close the entrance (Fig. 32). Inside the castle walls was the great *donjon*, or chief tower, which had several stories, although one would not suspect it from its plain exterior. There was sometimes also a fine hall, as at Coucy (Fig. 33), and handsome rooms for the use of the lord and his family, but sometimes they lived in the donjon. There were buildings for storing supplies and arms, and usually a chapel.

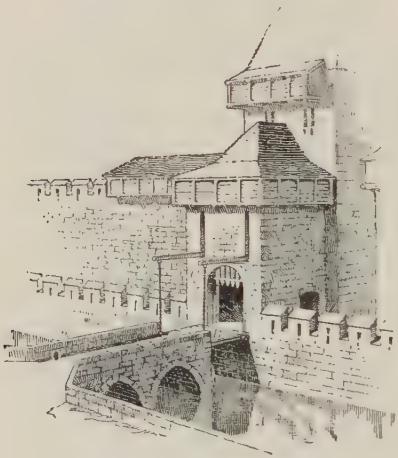


FIG. 32. FORTIFIED GATE OF A MEDIEVAL CASTLE

Here one can see the way in which the entrance to a castle was protected: the moat (*A*); the drawbridge (*B*); the portcullis (*C*)

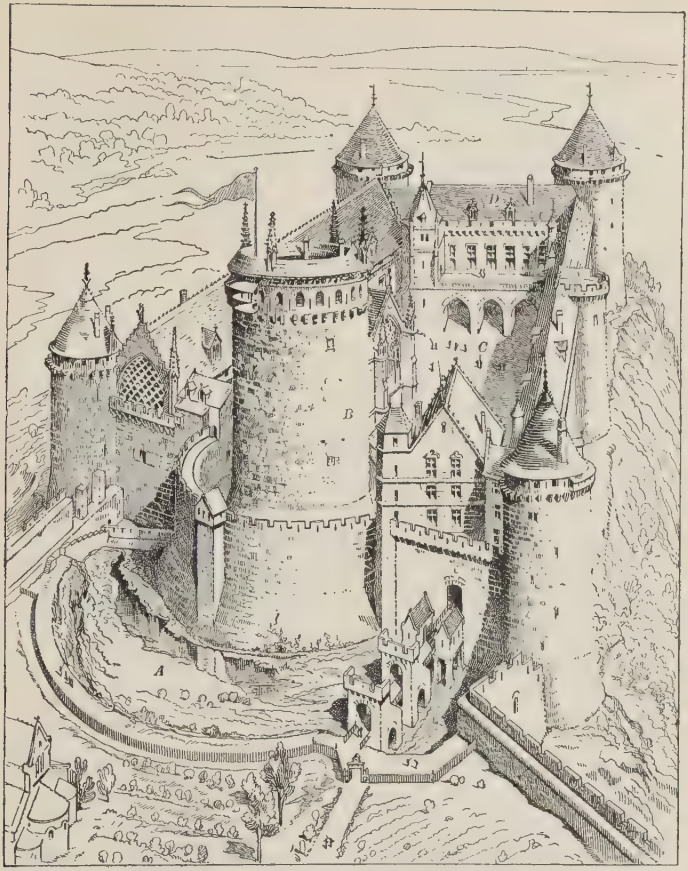


FIG. 33. COUCY LE CHÂTEAU

This castle of Coucy le Château was built by a vassal of the king of France in the thirteenth century. It is at the end of a hill and protected on all sides but one by steep cliffs. One can see the moat (*A*) and the double drawbridge and towers which protected the portal. The round donjon is probably the largest in the world, 100 feet in diameter and 210 feet high. At the base its walls are 34 feet thick. At the end of the inner court (*C*) was the residence of the lord (*D*). To the left of the court was a great hall, and to the right the quarters of the garrison

The Serfs and the Manor

The manor and serfs

20. Obviously the owner of the castle had to obtain supplies to support his family and servants and armed men. He could not have done this had he not possessed extensive tracts of land. A great part of western Europe in the time of Charlemagne appears to have been divided into great estates or plantations.

The manor, or vil

These medieval estates were called *vils*, or *manors*, and closely resembled the Roman villas described in an earlier chapter.[1] The peasants who tilled the soil were called *villains*, a word derived from *vil*. A portion of the estate was reserved by the lord for his own use; the rest of the plowed land was divided up among the peasants, usually in long strips, of which each peasant had several scattered about the manor.

Condition of the serfs

The peasants were generally serfs who did not own their fields, but could not, on the other hand, be deprived of them so long as they worked for the lord and paid him certain dues. They were attached to the land and went with it when it changed hands. The serfs were required to till those fields which the lord reserved for himself and to gather in his crops. They might not marry without their lord's permission. Their wives and daughters helped with the indoor work of the manor house. In the women's buildings the women serfs engaged in spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, and brewing, thus producing clothes, food, and drink for the whole community.

The obligations of the serfs

We get our clearest ideas of the position of the serfs from the ancient descriptions of manors, which give an exact account of what each member of a particular community owed to the lord. For example, we find that the abbot of Peterborough held a manor upon which Hugh Miller and seventeen other serfs, mentioned by name, were required to work for him three days in each week during the whole year, except one week at Christmas, one at Easter, and one at Whitsuntide. Each serf was to give the lord abbot one bushel of wheat and eighteen

[1] See above, p. 12.

sheaves of oats, three hens, and one cock yearly, and five eggs at Easter. If he sold his horse for more than ten shillings, he was to give the said abbot fourpence. Five other serfs, mentioned by name, held but half as much land as Hugh and his companions, by paying and doing in all respects half as much service.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the manor was its independence of the rest of the world. It produced nearly

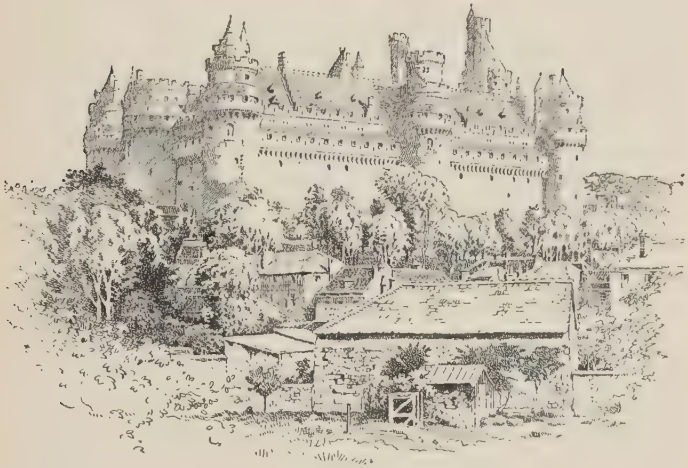


FIG. 34. PIERREFONDS

This castle of Pierrefonds, not very far from Paris, was built by the brother of the king of France, about 1400. It has been very carefully restored in modern times and gives one a good idea of the way in which the feudal lords of that period lived. Within the walls is a handsome central courtyard and magnificent apartments

everything that its members needed, and might almost have continued to exist indefinitely without communication with those who lived beyond its bounds. Little or no money was necessary, for the peasants paid what was due to the lord in the form of labor and farm products. They also rendered the needful help to one another and found little occasion for buying and selling.

The monotony and misery of the peasants' lives

There was almost no opportunity to better one's condition, and life must have gone on for generation after generation in a weary routine. And the life was not merely monotonous, it was wretched. The food was coarse and there was little variety, as the peasants did not even take pains to raise fresh vegetables. The houses usually had but one room, which was ill-lighted by a single little window and had no chimney.

Barter replaced by money transactions

The increased use of money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which came with the awakening trade and industry, tended to break up the manor. The old habit of trading one thing for another without the intervention of money began to disappear. As time went on, neither the lord nor the serf was satisfied with the old system, which had answered well enough in the time of Charlemagne. The serfs, on the one hand, began to obtain money by the sale of their products in the markets of neighboring towns. They finally found it more profitable to pay the lord a certain sum instead of working for him, for they could then turn their whole attention to their own farms.

The landlords, on the other hand, found it to their advantage to accept money in place of the services of their tenants. With this money the landlord could hire laborers to cultivate his fields and could buy the luxuries which were brought to his notice as commerce increased. So it came about that the lords gradually gave up their control over the peasants, and there was no longer very much difference between the serf and the freeman who paid a regular rent for his land. A serf might also gain his liberty by running away from his manor to a town. If he remained undiscovered, or was unclaimed by his lord, for a year and a day, he became a freeman.[1]

[1] The slow extinction of serfdom in western Europe appears to have begun as early as the twelfth century. A very general emancipation had taken place in England and France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though there were still some serfs in France when the revolution came in 1789. Germany was far more backward in this respect. We find the peasants revolting against their hard lot in Luther's time (1524–1525), and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the serfs were freed in Prussia.

These manors served to support their lords and left them free to busy themselves fighting with other landowners in the same position as themselves.

Feudal System

Lord and vassal

21. Landholders who had large estates and could spare a portion of them were accustomed to grant some of their manors to another person on condition that the one receiving the land would swear to be true to the giver, should fight for him on certain occasions, and should lend him aid when particular difficulties arose. It was in this way that the relation of *lord* and *vassal* originated. The vassal who received the land pledged himself to be true to his lord, and the lord, on the other hand, not only let his vassal have the land but agreed to protect him when it was necessary. These arrangements between vassals and lords constituted what is called the *feudal system.*

The feudal system

Gradual development of feudalism

The feudal system, or feudalism, was not established by any decree of a king or in virtue of any general agreement between all the landowners. It grew up gradually and irregularly without any conscious plan on any one's part, simply because it seemed convenient and natural under the circumstances. The owner of vast estates found it to his advantage to parcel them out among vassals, that is to say, men who agreed to accompany him to war, guard his castle upon occasion, and assist him when he was put to any unusually great expense. Land granted upon the terms mentioned was called a *fief.* One who held a fief might himself become a lord by granting a portion of his fief to a vassal upon terms similar to those upon which he held his lands of his lord, or *suzerain.*

The fief

Vassal and subvassal

The vassal of a vassal was called a *subvassal.* There was still another way in which the number of vassals was increased. The owners of small estates were usually in a defenseless condition, unable to protect themselves against the attacks of the great nobles. They consequently often deemed it wise to put

their land into the hands of a neighboring lord and receive it back from him as a fief. They thus became his vassals and could call upon him for protection.

Homage and fidelity, or "Fealty"

The one proposing to become a vassal knelt before the lord and rendered him homage[1] by placing his hands between those of the lord and declaring himself the lord's "man" for such and such a fief. Thereupon the lord gave his vassal the kiss of peace and raised him from his kneeling posture. Then the vassal swore an oath of fidelity upon the Bible, or some holy relic, solemnly binding himself to fulfill all his duties toward his lord. This act of rendering homage by placing the hands in those of the lord and taking the oath of fidelity was the first and most essential duty of the vassal (Fig. 35). For a vassal to refuse to do homage for his fief when it changed hands amounted to a declaration of revolt and independence.

Obligations of the vassal. Military service

The obligations of the vassal varied greatly.[2] He was expected to join his lord when there was a military expedition on foot, although it was generally the case that the vassal need not serve at his own expense for more than forty days. The rules in regard to the length of time during which a vassal might be called upon to guard the castle of his lord varied almost infinitely.

Other feudal obligations

Besides the military service due from the vassal to his lord, he was expected to attend the lord's court when summoned. There he sat with other vassals to hear and pronounce upon those cases in which his fellow vassals were involved. Moreover

[1] "Homage" is derived from the Latin word *homo*, meaning "man."

[2] The conditions upon which fiefs were granted might be dictated either by interest or by mere fancy. Sometimes the most fantastic and seemingly absurd obligations were imposed. We hear of vassals holding on condition of attending the lord at supper with a tall candle, or furnishing him with a great yule log at Christmas. Perhaps the most extraordinary instance upon record is that of a lord in Guienne who solemnly declared upon oath, when questioned by the commissioners of Edward I, that he held his fief of the king upon the following terms: When the lord king came through his estate he was to accompany him to a certain oak. There he must have waiting a cart loaded with wood and drawn by two cows without any tails. When the oak was reached, fire was to be applied to the cart and the whole burned up, "unless mayhap the cows make their escape."

he had to give the lord the benefit of his advice when required, and attend him upon solemn occasions.

Money payments

Under certain circumstances vassals had to make money payments to their lord; as, for instance, when the lord was put to extra expense by the necessity of knighting his eldest son or providing a dowry for his daughter, or when he was captured by an enemy and was held for ransom. Lastly, the vassal might have to entertain his lord should he be passing his castle. There are amusingly detailed accounts in some of the feudal contracts of exactly how often the lord might come, how many followers he might bring, and what he should have to eat.

FIG. 35. CEREMONY OF HOMAGE

This is a modern picture of the way in which the ceremony of homage took place. The new vassal is putting his hands between those of his lord. To the left are retainers in their chain armor, and back of the lord and his lady is the jester, or court fool, whose business it is to amuse his master when he needs entertainment

There were fiefs of all kinds and of all grades of importance, from that of a duke or count, who held directly of the king and exercised the powers of a practically independent prince, down to the holding of the simple knight, whose bit of land, cultivated by peasants or serfs, was barely sufficient to enable him to support himself and provide the horse upon which he rode to perform his military service for his lord.

It is essential to observe that the fief was not granted for a certain number of years, or simply for the life of the grantee, to go back at his death to the owner. On the contrary, it became

The hereditary character of fiefs and its consequences

hereditary in the family of the vassal and passed down to the eldest son from one generation to another. So long as the vassal remained faithful to his lord and performed the stipulated services, and his successors did homage and continued to meet the conditions upon which the fief had originally been granted, neither the lord nor his heirs could rightfully regain possession of the land.

The result was that little was left to the original owner of the fief except the services and dues to which the *practical* owner, the vassal, had agreed in receiving it. In short, the fief came really to belong to the vassal, and only the shadow of ownership remained in the hands of the lord. Nowadays the owner of land either makes some use of it himself or leases it for a definite period at a fixed money rent. But in the Middle Ages most of the land was held by those who neither really owned it nor paid a regular rent for it, and yet who could not be deprived of it by the nominal owner or his successors.

Subvassals of the king not under his control

Obviously the great vassals who held directly of the king became almost independent of him as soon as their fiefs were granted to them and their descendants. Their vassals, since they had not done homage to the king himself, often paid little attention to his commands. From the ninth to the thirteenth century, the king of France or the king of Germany did not rule over a great realm occupied by subjects who owed him obedience as their lawful sovereign, paid him taxes, and were bound to fight under his banner as the head of the State. As a feudal landlord himself, the king had a right to demand fidelity and certain services from those who were his vassals. But the great mass of the people over whom he nominally ruled, whether they belonged to the nobility or not, owed little to the king directly, because they lived upon the lands of other feudal lords more or less independent of him.

Neighborhood Warfare in the Middle Ages

22. One has only to read a chronicle of the time to discover that brute force governed almost everything outside of the Church. The feudal obligations were not fulfilled except when the lord was sufficiently powerful to enforce them. The oath of fidelity was constantly broken, and faith was violated by both vassal and lord.

The feudal system maintained only by force

It often happened that a vassal was discontented with his lord and transferred his allegiance to another. This he had a right to do under certain circumstances, as, for instance, when his lord refused to see that justice was done him in his court. But such changes were generally made merely for the sake of the advantages which the faithless vassal hoped to gain. The records of the time are full of accounts of refusal to do homage, which was the commonest way in which a vassal revolted from his lord. So soon as a vassal felt himself strong enough to face his lord's displeasure, or when the lord was a helpless child, the vassal was apt to declare his independence by refusing to recognize as his lord the one from whom he had received his land.

The breaking of the feudal bond

We may say that war, in all its forms, was the law of the feudal world. War formed the chief occupation of the restless nobles who held the land and were supposed to govern it. An enterprising vassal was likely to make war upon each of the lords to whom he had done homage; secondly, upon the bishops and abbots with whom he was brought into contact, and whose control he particularly disliked; thirdly, upon his fellow vassals; and lastly, upon his own vassals. The feudal bonds, instead of offering a guarantee of peace and concord, appear to have been a constant cause of violent conflict. Every one was bent upon profiting by the permanent or temporary weakness of his neighbor. This chronic fighting extended even to members of the same family; the son, anxious to enjoy a part of his heritage immediately, warred against his father, younger brothers against

War the law of the feudal world

older, and nephews against uncles who might seek to deprive them of their rights.

In theory, the lord could force his vassals to settle their disputes in an orderly manner before his court; but often he was neither able nor inclined to bring about a peaceful adjustment, and he would frequently have found it hard to enforce the decisions of his own court. So the vassals were left to fight out their quarrels among themselves, and they found their chief interest in life in so doing. War was practically sanctioned by law. This is shown by two striking examples. The great French code of laws of the thirteenth century and the Golden Bull, a most important body of law drawn up for Germany in 1356, did not prohibit neighborhood war, but merely provided that it should be conducted in what was considered a decent and gentlemanly way.

Justs and tourneys

Justs and tourneys were military exercises — play wars — to fill out the tiresome periods which occasionally intervened between real wars. They were, in fact, diminutive battles in which whole troops of hostile nobles sometimes took part. These rough plays called down the condemnation of the popes and even of the kings. The latter, however, were much too fond of the sport themselves not to forget promptly their own prohibitions.

The "Truce of God"

The horrors of this constant fighting led the Church to try to check it. About the year 1000 several Church councils in southern France decreed that the fighters were not to attack churches or monasteries, churchmen, pilgrims, merchants, and women, and that they must leave the peasant and his cattle and plow alone. Then Church councils began to issue what was known as the "Truce of God," which provided that all warfare was to stop during Lent and various other holy days as well as on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of every week. During the truce no one was to attack any one else. Those besieging castles were to refrain from any assaults during the period of peace, and people were to be allowed to go quietly to and fro on their business without being disturbed by soldiers.

If any one failed to observe the truce, he was to be excommunicated by the Church — if he fell sick no Christian should dare to visit him, and on his deathbed he was not to receive the comfort of a priest, and his soul was consigned to hell if he had refused to repent and mend his ways. It is hard to say how much good the Truce of God accomplished. Some of the bishops and even the heads of great monasteries liked fighting pretty well themselves. It is certain that many disorderly lords paid little attention to the truce, and found three days a week altogether too short a time for plaguing their neighbors.

The kings finally get the better of the feudal lords

Yet we must not infer that the State ceased to exist altogether during the centuries of confusion that followed the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, or that it fell entirely apart into little local governments independent of each other. In the first place, a king always retained some of his ancient majesty. He might be weak and without the means to enforce his rights and to compel his more powerful subjects to meet their obligations toward him. Yet he was, after all, the *king*, solemnly anointed by the Church as God's representative on earth. He was always something more than a feudal lord. The kings were destined to get the upper hand before many centuries in England, France, and Spain, and finally in Italy and Germany, and to destroy the castles behind whose walls their haughty nobles had long defied the royal power.

QUESTIONS

Section 18. What led to the breaking up of Charlemagne's empire? What is the importance of the Treaty of Mersen? What were the chief obstacles that prevented a king in the early Middle Ages from really controlling an extensive realm? What invasions occurred in western Europe after Charlemagne's time? Tell what you can of the Northmen.

Section 19. Describe the changes that took place during the Middle Ages in the method of constructing castles. Describe the arrangement of a castle.

SECTION 20. What was a manor, and what Roman institution did it resemble? What was a serf? What were the chief services that a serf owed to his master? What effect did the increased use of money have upon serfdom?

SECTION 21. Define "lord," "vassal," "fief," "homage," "feudalism." What services did a vassal owe to his lord? What effects did feudalism have upon the power of the kings?

SECTION 22. What is meant by neighborhood warfare? Why was it very common in the Middle Ages? What was the Truce of God?

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Norman Conquest

Importance of England in the history of western Europe

23. The country of western Europe, whose history is of greatest interest to English-speaking peoples, is, of course, England. From England the United States and the vast English colonies have inherited their language and habits of thought, much of their literature, and many of their laws and institutions. In this volume it will not, however, be possible to study England except in so far as it has played a part in the general development of Europe. This it has greatly influenced by its commerce and industry and colonies, as well as by the example it was the first to set in modern times of permitting the people to share with the king in the government.

Overlordship of Wessex

The conquest of the island of Britain by the German Angles and Saxons has already been spoken of, as well as the conversion of these pagans to Christianity by Augustine and his monks.[1] The several kingdoms founded by the German invaders were brought under the overlordship of the southern kingdom of Wessex by Egbert, a contemporary of Charlemagne.

Invasion of the Danes. Their defeat by Alfred the Great, 871–901

But no sooner had the long-continued invasions of the Germans come to an end and the country been partially unified than the Northmen (or Danes, as the English called them), who were ravaging France (see above, p. 92), began to make incursions into England. Before long they had conquered a large district north of the Thames and were making permanent settlements. They were defeated, however, in a great battle by Alfred the Great, the first English king of whom we have any

[1] See above, pp. 61 *sq.*

satisfactory knowledge. He forced the Danes to accept Christianity, and established, as the boundary between their settlements and his own kingdom of Wessex, a line running from London across the island to Chester.

England from the death of Alfred the Great to the Norman Conquest, 901–1066

But more Danes kept coming, and the Danish invasions continued for more than a century after Alfred's death (901). Sometimes they were bought off by a money payment called the *Danegeld*, which was levied on the people of England like any other tax. But finally a Danish king (Cnut) succeeded in making himself king of England in 1017. This Danish dynasty maintained itself, however, for only a few years. Then a last weak Saxon king, Edward the Confessor, reigned for twenty years.

Upon his death one of the greatest events in all English history occurred. The most powerful of the vassals of the king of France crossed the English Channel, conquered England, and made himself king. This was William, Duke of Normandy.

France in the Middle Ages

We have seen how Charlemagne's empire broke up, and how the feudal lords became so powerful that it was difficult for the king to control them. The West Frankish kingdom, which we shall hereafter call France, was divided up among a great many dukes and counts, who built strong castles, gathered armies and fought against one another, and were the terror alike of priest, merchant, and laborer. (See above, sections 18 and 22.)

Formation of small independent states in France

In the tenth century certain great fiefs, like Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, and Burgundy, developed into little nations, each under its line of able rulers. Each had its own particular customs and culture, some traces of which may still be noted by the traveler in France. These little feudal states were created by certain families of nobles who possessed exceptional energy or statesmanship. By conquest, purchase, or marriage they increased the number of their fiefs, and they insured their control over their vassals by promptly destroying the castles of those who refused to meet their obligations.

Normandy

Of these subnations none was more important or interesting than Normandy. The Northmen had been the scourge of those

who lived near the North Sea for many years before one of their leaders, Rollo (or Hrolf), agreed in 911 to accept from the West Frankish king a district on the coast, north of Brittany, where he and his followers might peacefully settle. Rollo assumed the title of Duke of the Normans, and introduced the Christian religion among his people. For a considerable time the newcomers kept up their Scandinavian habits and language. Gradually, however, they appropriated such culture as their neighbors possessed, and by the twelfth century their capital, Rouen, was one of the most enlightened cities of Europe. Normandy became a source of infinite perplexity to the French kings when, in 1066, Duke William added England to his possessions and the title of "the Conqueror" to his name; for he thereby became so powerful that his overlord, the king of France, could hardly hope to control the Norman dukes any longer.

The struggle for the English crown between Earl Harold and Duke William of Normandy

William of Normandy claimed that he was entitled to the English crown, but we are somewhat in the dark as to the basis of his claim. There is a story that he had visited the court of Edward the Confessor and had become his vassal on condition that, should Edward die childless, he was to declare William his successor. However this may be, Harold of Wessex assumed the crown upon Edward's death and paid no attention to William's demand that he should surrender it.

The pope favors William's claim

William thereupon appealed to the pope, promising that if he came into possession of England, he would see that the English clergy submitted to the authority of the Roman bishop. Consequently the pope, Alexander II, condemned Harold and blessed in advance any expedition that William might undertake to secure his rights. The conquest of England therefore took on the character of a sort of holy war, and as the expedition had been well advertised, many adventurers flocked to William's standard. During the spring and summer of 1066 ships were building in the various Norman harbors for the purpose of carrying William's army across the Channel.

Unfavorable position of Harold

Harold, the English king, was in a very unfavorable position to defend his crown. In the first place, while he was expecting William's coming, he was called to the north of England to repel a last invasion of the fierce Norsemen, who had again landed in England and were devastating the coast towns. He was able to put them to flight, but as he was celebrating his victory by a banquet news reached him that William had actually landed with his Normans in southern England. It was autumn now and the peasants, who formed a large part of Harold's forces, had gone home to harvest their crops, so he had to hurry south with an insufficient army.

FIG. 36. ABBAYE AUX DAMES, CAEN

William the Conqueror married a lady, Matilda, who was remotely related to him. This was against the rules of the Church, and he took pains to get the pope's sanction to his marriage. But he and his queen were afraid that they might have committed a sin in marrying, so William built a monastery for men and Matilda a nunnery for women as a penance. The churches of these monasteries still stand in the Norman city of Caen. William was buried in his church. The picture represents the interior of Matilda's church and is a good example of what the English called the Norman style of architecture

The English occupied the hill of Senlac, west of Hastings, and

Scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry

awaited the coming of the enemy. They had few horses and fought on foot with their battle-axes. The Normans had horses, which they had brought across in their ships, and were supplied with bows and arrows. The English fought bravely and repulsed the Normans as they tried to press up the hillside. But at last they were thrown into confusion, and King Harold was killed by a Norman arrow which pierced his eye.

Battle of Hastings, October 14, 1066

William thus destroyed the English army in this famous battle of Hastings, and the rightful English king was dead. But the Norman duke was not satisfied to take possession of England as a conqueror merely. In a few weeks he managed to induce a number of influential nobles and several bishops to agree to accept him as king, and London opened its gates to him. On Christmas Day, 1066, he was chosen king by an assembly in Westminster Abbey (where Harold had been elected a year before) and was duly crowned.

William crowned at London

In the Norman town of Bayeux a strip of embroidery is preserved some two hundred and thirty feet long and eighteen inches wide. If it was not made by Queen Matilda, William's wife, and her ladies, as some have supposed, it belongs at any rate to the time of the Norman conquest of England, which it pictures with much detail. The accompanying colored reproduction of two scenes shows the Normans landing with their horses from their ships on the English coast and starting for the battlefield of Hastings, and, in the second scene, the battle in actual progress; the English are on their hill, trying to drive back the invaders. While the ladies could not draw very well, historians are able to get some ideas of the time from their embroidery.

The Bayeux Tapestry

We cannot trace the history of the opposition and the revolts of the great nobles which William had to meet within the next few years. His position was rendered doubly difficult by troubles which he encountered on the Continent as Duke of Normandy. Suffice it to say, that he succeeded in maintaining himself against all his enemies.

William's policy in England

William's policy in England exhibited profound statesmanship. He introduced the Norman feudalism to which he was accustomed, but took good care that it should not weaken his power. The English, who had refused to join him before the battle of Hastings, were declared to have forfeited their lands, but were permitted to keep them upon condition of receiving them back from the king as his vassals. The lands of those who actually fought against him at Hastings, or in later rebellions, including the great estates of Harold's family, were seized and distributed among his faithful followers, both Norman and English, though naturally the Normans among them far outnumbered the English.

He insures his supremacy without interference with English customs

William declared that he did not propose to change the English customs but to govern as Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king, had done. He maintained the Witenagemot, a council made up of bishops and nobles, whose advice the Saxon kings had sought in all important matters. But he was a man of too much force to submit to the control of his people. He avoided giving to any one person a great many estates in a single region, so that no one should become inconveniently powerful. Finally, in order to secure the support of the smaller landholders and to prevent combinations against him among the greater ones, he required every landowner in England to take an oath of fidelity *directly* to him, instead of having only a few great landowners as vassals who had their own subvassals under their own control, as in France.

William requires oath of fidelity from his subvassals

We read in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1086): "He came, on the first day of August, to Salisbury, and there came to him his wise men (that is, counselors), and all the land-owning men of property there were over all England, whosoever men they were; and all bowed down to him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him that they would be faithful to him against all other men."

It is clear that the Norman Conquest was not a simple change of kings, but that a new element was added to the English

people. We cannot tell how many Normans actually emigrated across the Channel, but they evidently came in considerable numbers, and their influence upon the English habits and government was very great. A century after William's conquest the whole body of the nobility, the bishops, abbots, and government officials, had become practically all Norman. Besides these, the architects who built the castles and fortresses, the cathedrals and abbeys, came from Normandy. Merchants from the Norman cities of Rouen and Caen settled in London and other English cities, and weavers from Flanders in various towns and even in the country. For a short time these newcomers remained a separate people, but by the year 1200 they had become for the most part indistinguishable from the great mass of English people amongst whom they had come. They had nevertheless made the people of England more energetic, active-minded, and varied in their occupations and interests than they had been before the conquest.

General results of the Norman Conquest

Henry II and the Plantagenets

24. William the Conqueror was followed by his sons, William Rufus and Henry I. Upon the death of the latter the country went through a terrible period of civil war, for some of the nobility supported the Conqueror's grandson Stephen, and some his granddaughter Matilda. After the death of Stephen, when Henry II, Matilda's son,[1] was finally recognized in 1154 by all as king, he found the kingdom in a melancholy state. The nobles had taken advantage of the prevalent disorder to erect castles without royal permission and to establish themselves as independent rulers, and many disorderly hired soldiers had been brought over from the Continent to support the rivals for the throne.

William Rufus, 1087–1100, and Henry I, 1100–1135

Civil war ending in the accession of Henry II, 1154–1189

Henry II at once adopted vigorous measures. He destroyed the illegally erected fortresses, sent off the foreign soldiers, and

[1] See genealogical table below, p. 122.

Henry's difficulties and his success in meeting them

deprived many earls who had been created by Stephen and Matilda of their titles. Henry's task was a difficult one. He had need of all his tireless energy and quickness of mind to restore order in England and at the same time rule the wide realms on the Continent which he had either inherited or gained through his marriage with a French heiress.

FIG. 37. NORMAN GATEWAY AT BRISTOL, ENGLAND

This beautiful gateway was originally the entrance to a monastery, begun in 1142. It is one of the finest examples of the Norman style of building to be seen in England

In order to avoid all excuse for the private warfare which was such a persistent evil on the Continent, he undertook to improve and reform the law courts. He arranged that his judges should make regular circuits throughout the country, so that they might try cases on the spot at least once a year. We find, too, the beginning of our grand jury in a body of men in each neighborhood who were to be duly sworn in, from time to time, and should then bring accusations against such malefactors as had come to their knowledge.

Trial by jury

As for the "petty" or smaller jury of twelve, which actually tried the accused, its origin and history are obscure. Henry II's juries left the verdict for Heaven to pronounce in the ordeal; but a century later we find the jury of twelve itself rendering verdicts. The plan of delegating to twelve men the duty of deciding on the guilt or innocence of a suspected person was very

different from the earlier systems. It resembled neither the Roman trial, where the judges made the decision, nor the medieval compurgation and ordeals (see above, p. 37). The decisions of Henry's judges were mainly drawn from old English custom, instead of from Roman law as in France, and they became the basis of the *common law* which is still used in all English-speaking countries.

Henry's reign was embittered by the famous struggle with Thomas Becket, which illustrates admirably the peculiar dependence of the monarchs of his day upon the churchmen. Becket was born in London and became a churchman, but he grew up in the service of the king and was able to aid Henry in gaining the throne. Thereupon the new king made him his chancellor. Becket proved an excellent

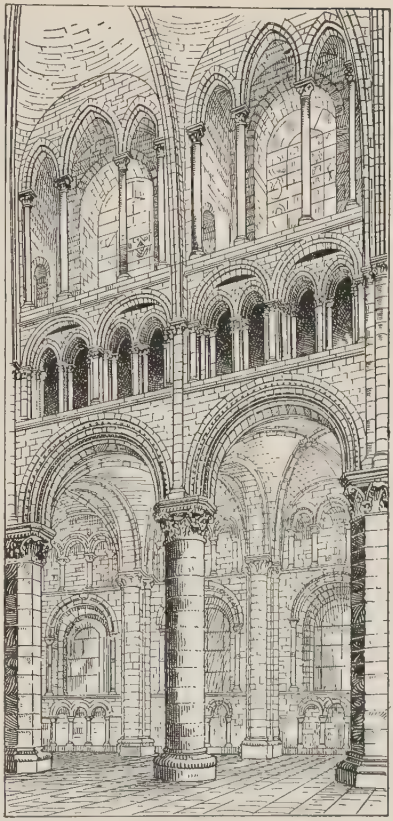


FIG. 38. CHOIR OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The choir of Canterbury Cathedral was destroyed by fire four years after Thomas Becket was murdered there. The picture shows how it was rebuilt under Henry II during the years 1175–1184. The two lower rows of arches are the round kind that had been used up to that time, while the upper row shows how the pointed arch was coming in. (See below, section 44)

Thomas Becket chancellor

minister and defended the king's interest even against the Church. He was fond of hunting and of war and maintained a brilliant court from the revenues of the numerous church positions which he held. It appeared to Henry that there could be no better head for the English clergy than his sagacious and worldly chancellor. He therefore determined to make him Archbishop of Canterbury.

Made Archbishop of Canterbury, Becket defends the cause of the Church against the king

In securing the election of Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry intended to insure his own complete control of the Church. He proposed to punish churchmen who committed crimes, like other offenders, to make the bishops meet all the feudal obligations, and to prevent appeals to the pope. Becket, however, immediately gave up his gay life and opposed every effort of the king to reduce the independence of the Church. After a haughty assertion of the supremacy of the Church over the king's government,[1] Thomas fled from the wrathful and disappointed monarch to France and the protection of the pope.

Murder of Becket and Henry's remorse

In spite of a patched-up reconciliation with the king, Becket proceeded to excommunicate some of the great English prelates and, as Henry believed, was conspiring to rob his son of the crown. In a fit of anger, Henry exclaimed among his followers, "Is there no one to avenge me of this miserable churchman?" Unfortunately certain knights took the rash expression literally, and Becket was murdered in his own cathedral of Canterbury, whither he had returned. The king really had no wish to resort to violence, and his sorrow and remorse when he heard of the dreadful deed, and his terror at the consequences, were most genuine. The pope proposed to excommunicate him. Henry, however, made peace with the papal legates by the solemn assertion that he had never wished the death of Thomas and by promising to return to Canterbury all the property which he had confiscated, to send money to aid in the capture of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, and to undertake a crusade himself.

[1] See below, section 30.

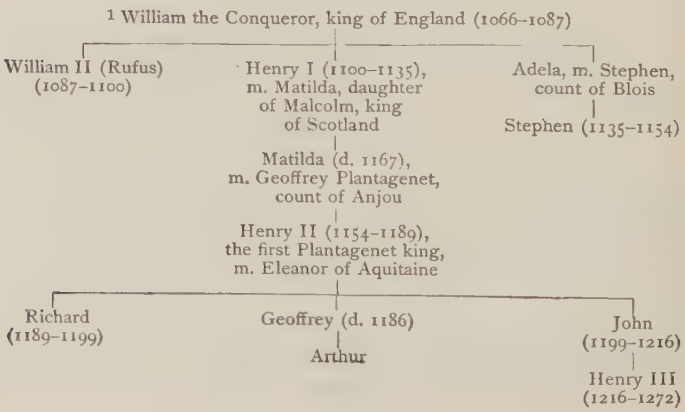
THE PLANTAGENET POSSESSIONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

The French possessions of the Plantagenets

Although Henry II was one of the most important kings in English history, he spent a great part of his time across the Channel in his French possessions. A glance at the accompanying map will show that rather more than half of his realms lay to the south of the English Channel. He controlled more territory in France than the French king himself. As great-grandson of William the Conqueror, he inherited the duchy of Normandy and the suzerainty over Brittany. His mother, Matilda, had married the count of Anjou and Maine, so that Henry II inherited these fiefs along with those which had belonged to William the Conqueror. Lastly, he had himself married Eleanor, heiress of the dukes of Guienne, and in this way doubled the extent of his French lands.[1] Henry II and his successors are known as the Plantagenets, owing to the habit that his father, the count of Anjou, had of wearing a bit of broom (Latin, *planta genista*) in his helmet.

Philip Augustus of France, 1180–1223

So it came about that the French kings beheld a new State, under an able and energetic ruler, developing within their borders and including more than half the territory over which they were supposed to rule. A few years before Henry II died, an ambitious monarch, Philip Augustus, ascended the French throne, and made it the chief business of his life to get control of his feudal vassals, above all, the Plantagenets.


1 William the Conqueror, king of England (1066–1087)
William II (Rufus) (1087–1100)
Henry I (1100–1135), m. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland
Adela, m. Stephen, count of Blois
Stephen (1135–1154)
Matilda (d. 1167), m. Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou
Henry II (1154–1189), the first Plantagenet king, m. Eleanor of Aquitaine
Richard (1189–1199)
Geoffrey (d. 1186)
Arthur
John (1199–1216)
Henry III (1216–1272)

Quarrels in Henry's family

Henry divided his French possessions among his three sons, Geoffrey, Richard, and John; but father and sons were engaged in constant disputes with one another, as none of them were easy people to get along with. Philip Augustus took advantage of these constant quarrels of the brothers among themselves and with their father. These quarrels were most fortunate for the French king, for had the Plantagenets held together they might have annihilated the royal house of France, whose narrow dominions their own possessions closed in on the west and south.

Richard the Lion-Hearted

So long as Henry II lived there was little chance of expelling the Plantagenets from France; but with the accession of his reckless son, Richard the Lion-Hearted, the prospects of the French king brightened wonderfully. Richard is one of the most famous of medieval knights, but he was a very poor ruler. He left his kingdom to take care of itself while he went upon a crusade to the Holy Land (see below, p. 177). He persuaded Philip Augustus to join him; but Richard was too overbearing and masterful, and Philip too ambitious, to make it possible for them to agree for long. The king of France, who was physically delicate, was taken ill on the way and was glad of the excuse to return home and brew trouble for his powerful vassal. When Richard himself returned, after several years of romantic but fruitless adventure, he found himself involved in a war with Philip Augustus, in the midst of which he died.

John loses the French possessions of his house

Richard's younger brother, John, who enjoys the reputation of being the most despicable of English kings, speedily gave Philip a good excuse for seizing a great part of the Plantagenet lands. John was suspected of conniving at the brutal murder of his nephew Arthur (the son of Geoffrey[1]). He was also guilty of the less serious offense of carrying off and marrying a lady betrothed to one of his own vassals. Philip Augustus, as John's suzerain, summoned him to appear at the French court to answer the latter charge. Upon John's refusal to appear or to do

[1] Geoffrey, John's next older brother, who would naturally have succeeded Richard, died in 1186.

homage for his continental possessions, Philip caused his court to issue a decree confiscating almost all of the Plantagenet lands, leaving to the English king only the southwest corner of France.

Philip found little difficulty in possessing himself of Normandy itself, which showed no disinclination to accept him in place of the Plantagenets. Six years after Richard's death the English kings had lost all their continental fiefs except Guienne. It should be observed that Philip, unlike his ancestors, was no longer merely *suzerain* of the new conquests, but made himself duke of Normandy, and count of Anjou, of Maine, etc. The boundaries of his domain — that is, the lands which he himself controlled directly as feudal lord — now extended to the sea.

English kings still continued to hold southwestern France

St. Louis, Philip's successor, arranged with John's successor in 1258 that the English king should do him homage for Guienne, Gascony, and Poitou and should surrender every claim on all the rest of the former possessions of the Plantagenets. So it came about that the English kings continued to hold a portion of France for several hundred years.

John of England becomes a vassal of the pope

John not only lost Normandy and other territories which had belonged to the earlier Norman kings but he actually consented to become the pope's vassal, receive England as a fief from the papacy, and pay tribute to Rome. This strange proceeding came about in this wise: The monks of Canterbury had (1205) ventured to choose an archbishop — who was at the same time their abbot[1] — without consulting King John. Their appointee hastened off to Rome to gain the pope's confirmation, while the irritated John forced the monks to hold another election and make his treasurer archbishop. The pope at that time was no less a person than Innocent III, one of the greatest of medieval rulers.[2] Innocent rejected both the men who had been elected, sent for a new deputation of monks from Canterbury, and bade them choose Stephen Langton, a man of great ability. John then angrily drove the monks of Canterbury out of the kingdom.

[1] See above, p. 63.

[2] See below, p. 163.

Innocent replied by placing England under the *interdict;* that is to say, he ordered the clergy to close all the churches and suspend all public services — a very terrible thing to the people of the time. John was excommunicated, and the pope threatened that unless the king submitted to his wishes he would depose him and give his crown to Philip Augustus of France. As Philip made haste to collect an army for the conquest of England, John humbly submitted to the pope in 1213. He went so far as to hand England over to Innocent III and receive it back as a fief, thus becoming the vassal of the pope. He agreed also to send a yearly tribute to Rome.

England under the interdict

The Great Charter and the Beginnings of Parliament

25. We must now turn to the most important event in John's reign — the drawing up of the Great Charter of English liberties.

When, in 1213, John proposed to lead his English vassals across the water in order to attempt to reconquer his lost possessions in France, they refused to accompany him on the ground that their feudal obligations did not bind them to fight outside of their country. Moreover, they showed a lively discontent with John's tyranny and his neglect of those limits of the kingly power which several of the earlier Norman kings had solemnly recognized. In 1214 a number of the barons met and took a solemn oath that they would compel the king, by arms if necessary, to sign a charter containing the things which, according to English traditions, a king might *not* do. As John would not agree to do this, it proved necessary to get together an army and march against him. The insurgent nobles met him at Runnymede, not far from London. Here on the 15th of June, 1215, they forced him to swear to observe what they believed to be the rights of his subjects, which they had carefully written out.

The granting of the Great Charter, 1215

The provisions of the Charter and its importance

The Great Charter is perhaps the most famous document in the history of government;[1] its provisions furnish a brief and comprehensive statement of the burning governmental questions of that period. The nobles, who concluded this great treaty with a tyrannous ruler, saw that it was to their interest to have the rights of the common freeman safeguarded as well as their own. The king promises to observe the rights of his vassals, and the vassals in turn agree to observe the rights of their men. The towns are not to be oppressed. The merchant is not to be deprived of his goods for small offenses, nor the farmer of his wagon and implements. The king is to impose no tax, besides the three stated feudal aids,[2] except with the consent of the great council of the nation. This is to include the prelates and greater barons and all who hold directly of the king.

There is no more notable clause in the Charter than that which provides that no freeman is to be arrested, or imprisoned, or deprived of his property, unless he be immediately sent before a court of his peers for trial. To realize the importance of this, we must recollect that in France, down to 1789, — nearly six hundred years later, — the king exercised such unlimited powers that he could order the arrest of any one he pleased, and could imprison him for any length of time without bringing him to trial, or even informing him of the nature of his offense. The Great Charter provided further that the king should permit merchants to move about freely and should observe the privileges of the various towns; nor were his officers longer to be allowed to exercise despotic powers over those under them.

Permanent value of the Charter

In spite of his solemn confirmation of the Charter, John, with his accustomed treachery, made an unsuccessful attempt to break his promises in the Charter; but neither he nor his successors ever succeeded in getting rid of the document. Later there were times when the English kings evaded its provisions

[1] Extracts from the Great Charter are given in the *Readings*, chap. xi.

[2] These were payments made when the lord knighted his eldest son, gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or had been captured and was waiting to be ransomed.

and tried to rule as absolute monarchs. But the people always sooner or later bethought them of the Charter, which thus continued to form a barrier against permanent despotism in England.

Henry III, 1216–1272

During the long reign of John's son, Henry III, England began to construct her Parliament, an institution which has not only played a most important rôle in English history, but has also served as the model for similar bodies in almost every civilized state in the world.

The Great Council of the Norman kings, like the older Witenagemot of Saxon times, was a meeting of nobles, bishops, and abbots, which the king summoned from time to time to give him advice and aid, and to sanction important governmental undertakings. During Henry's reign its meetings became more frequent and its discussions more vigorous than before, and the name *Parliament* began to be applied to it.

The Commons summoned to Parliament, 1265

In 1265 a famous Parliament was held, where a most important new class of members — the *commons* — were present, who were destined to give it its future greatness. In addition to the nobles and prelates, two simple knights were summoned from each county and two citizens from each of the more flourishing towns to attend and take part in the discussions.

The Model Parliament of Edward I, 1295

Edward I, the next king, definitely adopted this innovation. He doubtless called in the representatives of the towns because the townspeople were becoming rich and he wished to have an opportunity to ask them to make grants of money to meet the expenses of the government. He also wished to obtain the approval of all classes when he determined upon important measures affecting the whole realm. Ever since the so-called "Model Parliament" of 1295, the commons, or representatives of the people, have always been included along with the clergy and nobility when the national assembly of England has been summoned.

Redress of grievances

The Parliament early took the stand that the king must agree to "redress of grievances" before they would grant him any money. This meant that the king had to promise to remedy any

acts of himself or his officials of which Parliament complained before it would agree to let him raise the taxes. Instead of following the king about and meeting wherever he might happen to be, the parliament from the time of Edward I began to hold its sessions in the city of Westminster, now a part of London, where it still continues to meet.

Growth of powers of Parliament

Under Edward's successor, Edward II, Parliament solemnly declared in 1322 that important matters relating to the king and his heirs, the state of the realm and of the people should be considered and determined upon by the king "with the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and the commonalty (that is, commons) of the realm." Five years later Parliament showed its power by deposing the inefficient king, Edward II, and declared his son, Edward III, the rightful ruler of England.

The new king, who was carrying on an expensive war with France, needed much money and consequently summoned Parliament every year, and, in order to encourage its members to grant him money, he gratified Parliament by asking their advice and listening to their petitions. He passed no new law without adding "by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the commons."

House of Lords and House of Commons

At this time the separation of the two houses of Parliament took place, and ever since the "lords spiritual and temporal" — that is, the bishops and higher nobles — have sat by themselves in the House of Lords, and a House of Commons, including the country gentlemen (knights) and the representatives elected by the more important towns, have met by themselves. Parliament thus made up is really a modern, not a medieval, institution, and we shall hear much of it later.

Wales and Scotland

Extent of the king of England's realms before Edward I (1272–1307)

26. The English kings who preceded Edward I had ruled over only a portion of the island of Great Britain. To the west of their kingdom lay the mountainous district of Wales, inhabited by that remnant of the original Britons which the

THE
BRITISH ISLES
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
10 8 6 4 2 0 2
60
58
56
SHETLAND ISLANDS
WHALSEY
FAIR I.
ORKNEY
POMONA
ISLANDS
Pentland Firth
Duncansby Head
C. Wrath
HEBRIDES IS.
LEWIS
HARRIS
THE MINCH
OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Moray Firth
Kinnaird Head
Spey
Caledonian Canal
Aberdeen
GRAMPIAN HILLS
BEN NEVIS
R. Tay
Dundee
Scone
LITTLE MINCH
Gulf of the Hebrides
TIREE I.
MULL
Firth of Lorne
GLENLOMOND
Bannockburn
Firth of Forth
Glasgow
EDINBURGH
R. Tweed
NORTH CHANNEL
Irish Sea
Malin Hd.
Giants Causeway
CHEVIOT HILLS
NORTHUMBERLAND

Erris Hd.
L. Erne
L. Strangford
ISLE OF MAN
Flamborough Head
ACHILL I.
IRISH SEA
Morecambe Bay
York
Mouth of the Humber
Slyne Hd.
L. Ree
R. Boyne
Howth Hd.
Chester
Liverpool
Galway
DUBLIN
ARAN ISLES
Galway Bay
L. Derg
R. Barrow
The Wash
Boston
NORFOLK
Shannon
Kilkenny
Shrewsbury
Stourbridge
Cardigan Bay
SUFFOLK
Cambridge
Killarney
Blackwater R.
Lakes of Killarney
Cork
Queenstown
Cork Harbour
St. George's Channel
St. David's Hd.
Mouth of the Thames
ESSEX
Banry R.
C. Clear
Carmarthen Bay
Bristol Channel
Bristol
Greenwich
Canterbury
LONDON
KENT
Wells
Salisbury
SURREY
Senlac
Hastings
SUSSEX
Strait of Dover
DEVON
Exeter
DORSET
ISLE OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
Portland Bill
Land's End
SCILLY IS.
Lizard Pt.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
CHANNEL
ISLANDS
JERSEY
Seine R.
FRANCE
10
8
6
Longitude West 4 from Greenwich
2
0
Longitude East
54
52
50

German invaders had been unable to conquer. To the north of England was the kingdom of Scotland, which was quite independent except for an occasional recognition by the Scotch kings of the English kings as their feudal superiors. Edward I, however, succeeded in conquering Wales permanently and Scotland temporarily.

The Welsh and their bards

For centuries a border warfare had been carried on between the English and the Welsh. William the Conqueror had found it necessary to establish a chain of fortresses on the Welsh frontier, and Chester, Shrewsbury, and Monmouth became the outposts of the Normans. While the raids of the Welsh constantly provoked the English kings to invade Wales, no permanent conquest was possible, for the enemy retreated into the mountains about Snowden, and the English soldiers were left to starve in the wild regions into which they had ventured. The Welsh were encouraged in their long and successful resistance against the English by the songs of their *bards*, who promised that their people would sometime reconquer the whole of England, which they had possessed before the coming of the Angles and Saxons.

Edward I conquers Wales

When Edward I came to the throne he demanded that Llewellyn, prince of Wales, as the head of the Welsh clans was called, should do him homage. Llewellyn, who was a man of ability and energy, refused the king's summons, and Edward marched into Wales. Two campaigns were necessary before the Welsh finally succumbed. Llewellyn was killed (1282), and with him expired the independence of the Welsh people. Edward divided the country into shires and introduced English laws and customs, and his policy of conciliation was so successful that there was but a single rising in the country for a whole century. He later presented his son to the Welsh as their prince, and from that time down to the present the title of "Prince of Wales" has usually been conferred upon the heir to the English throne.

The title of "Prince of Wales"

The conquest of Scotland proved a far more difficult matter than that of Wales.

Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland

When the German peoples — the Angles and Saxons — conquered Britain, some of them wandered north as far as the Firth of Forth and occupied the so-called Lowlands of Scotland. The mountainous region to the north, known as the Highlands, continued to be held by wild tribes related to the Welsh and Irish and talking a language similar to theirs, namely Gaelic. There was constant warfare between the older inhabitants themselves and between them and the newcomers from Germany, but both Highlands and Lowlands were finally united under a line of

FIG. 39. CONWAY CASTLE

Edward built this fine castle in 1284 on the north coast of Wales, to keep the Welsh in check. Its walls are 12 to 15 feet in thickness. There were buildings inside, including a great banqueting hall 130 feet long

Scottish kings, who moved their residence down to Edinburgh, which, with its fortress, became their chief town.

It was natural that the language of the Scotch Lowlands should be English, but in the mountains the Highlanders to this day continue to talk the ancient Gaelic of their forefathers.

Edward intervenes in Scotch affairs

It was not until the time of Edward I that the long series of troubles between England and Scotland began. The death of the last representative old line of Scotch kings in 1290 was followed by the appearance of a number of claimants to the crown.

In order to avoid civil war, Edward was asked to decide who should be king. He agreed to make the decision on condition that the one whom he selected should hold Scotland as a *fief* from the English king. This arrangement was adopted, and the crown was given to John Baliol. But Edward unwisely made demands upon the Scots which aroused their anger, and their king renounced his homage to the king of England. The Scotch, moreover, formed an alliance with Edward's enemy, Philip the Fair of France; thenceforth, in all the difficulties between England and France, the English kings had always to reckon with the disaffected Scotch, who were glad to aid England's enemies.

Alliance between Scotland and France

Edward marched in person against the Scotch (1269) and speedily put down what he regarded as a rebellion. He declared that Baliol had forfeited his fief through treason, and that consequently the English king had become the real ruler of Scotland. He emphasized his claim by carrying off the famous Stone of Scone (now in Westminster Abbey), upon which the kings of Scotland had been crowned for ages. Continued resistance led Edward to attempt to incorporate Scotland with England in the same way that he had treated Wales. This was the beginning of three hundred years of intermittent war between England and Scotland, which ended only when a Scotch king, James VI, succeeded to the English throne in 1603 as James I.

Edward attempts to incorporate Scotland with England

That Scotland was able to maintain her independence was mainly due to Robert Bruce, a national hero who succeeded in bringing both the nobility and the people under his leadership. Edward I died, old and worn out, in 1307, when on his way north to put down a rising under Bruce, and left the task of dealing with the Scotch to his incompetent son, Edward II. The Scotch acknowledged Bruce as their king and decisively defeated Edward II in the great battle of Bannockburn, the most famous conflict in Scottish history. Nevertheless, the English refused to acknowledge the independence of Scotland until forced to do so in 1328.

Battle of Bannockburn, 1314

The Scottish nation differs from the English

In the course of their struggles with England the Scotch people of the Lowlands had become more closely welded together, and the independence of Scotland, although it caused much bloodshed, first and last, served to develop certain permanent differences between the little Scotch nation and the rest of the English race. No Scotchman to the present day likes to be mistaken for an Englishman. The peculiarities of the language and habits of the people north of the Tweed have been made familiar to all readers of good literature by the novels of Sir Walter Scott and Robert L. Stevenson and by the poems of Robert Burns.

The Hundred Years' War

The Hundred Years' War

27. England and France were both becoming strong states in the early fourteenth century. The king in both of these countries had got the better of the feudal lords, and a parliament had been established in France as well as in England, in which the townspeople as well as the clergy and nobility were represented. But both countries were set back by a long series of conflicts known as the Hundred Years' War, which was especially disastrous to France. The trouble arose as follows:

Edward III claims the French crown

It will be remembered that King John of England had lost all the French possessions of the Plantagenets except the duchy of Guienne (see above, pp. 123–124). For this he had to do homage to the king of France and become his vassal. This arrangement lasted for many years, but in the times of Edward III the old French line of kings died out, and Edward declared that he himself was the rightful ruler of all France because his mother, Isabella, was a sister of the last king of the old line (see table on the next page).

Edward III invades France

The French lawyers, however, decided that Edward had no claim to the French throne and that a very distant relative of the last king was the rightful heir to the crown (Philip VI). Edward, nevertheless, maintained that he was rightfully king of

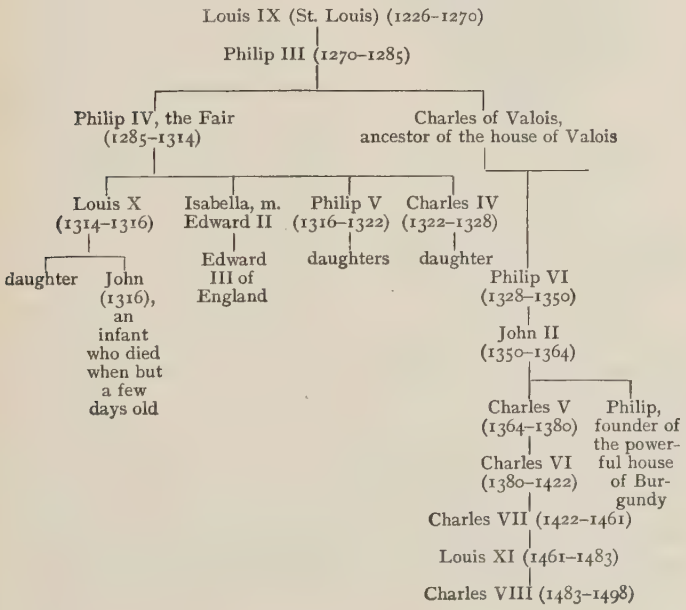
France.[1] He added the French emblem of the lilies (fleur-de-lis) to the lions on the English coat of arms (Fig. 40). In 1346 he landed in Normandy with an English army, devastated the country and marched up the Seine toward Paris. He met the troops of Philip at Creçy, where a celebrated battle was fought, in which the English with their long bows and well-directed arrows put to rout the French knights. Ten years later the English made another incursion into France and again defeated the French cavalry. The French king (John II) was himself captured and carried off to London.

Battle of Creçy, 1346

The French Parliament, commonly called the Estates General, came together to consider the unhappy state of affairs. The members from the towns were more numerous than the representatives of the clergy and nobility. A great list of

The French Parliament (Estates General)

[1] The French kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:


Louis IX (St. Louis) (1226–1270)
Philip III (1270–1285)
Philip IV, the Fair (1285–1314)
Charles of Valois, ancestor of the house of Valois
Louis X (1314–1316)
Isabella, m. Edward II
Philip V (1316–1322)
Charles IV (1322–1328)
daughter
John (1316), an infant who died when but a few days old
Edward III of England
daughters
daughter
Philip VI (1328–1350)
John II (1350–1364)
Charles V (1364–1380)
Philip, founder of the powerful house of Burgundy
Charles VI (1380–1422)
Charles VII (1422–1461)
Louis XI (1461–1483)
Charles VIII (1483–1498)

reforms was drawn up. These provided among other things that the Estates General should meet regularly even when the king failed to summon them, and that the collection and expenditure of the public revenue should be no longer entirely under the control of the king but should be supervised by the representatives of the people. The city of Paris rose in support of the revolutionary Estates, but the violence of its allies discredited rather than helped the movement, and France was soon glad to accept the unrestricted rule of its king once more.

FIG. 40. ROYAL ARMS OF EDWARD III

On the upper left-hand quarter and the lower right-hand are the lilies as represented in heraldry

The history of the Estates General forms a curious contrast to that of the English Parliament, which was laying the foundation of its later power during this very period. While the French king occasionally summoned the Estates when he needed money, he did so only in order that their approbation of new taxes might make it easier to collect them. He never admitted that he had not the right to levy taxes if he wished without consulting his subjects.

Contrast between the position of the Estates General and the English Parliament

In England, on the other hand, the kings ever since the time of Edward I had repeatedly agreed that no new taxes should be imposed without the consent of Parliament. Edward II, as we have seen, had gone farther and accepted the representatives of the people as his advisers in all important matters touching the welfare of the realm. While the French Estates gradually sank into insignificance, the English Parliament soon learned to grant no money until the king had redressed the grievances which it pointed out, and thus it insured its influence over the king's policy.

Edward III finds it impossible to conquer France

Edward III found it impossible, however, to conquer France, and the successor of the French King, John II, managed before Edward died in 1377 to get back almost all the lands that the English had occupied.

Miserable condition of France

For a generation after the death of Edward III the war with France was almost discontinued. France had suffered a great deal more than England. In the first place, all the fighting had been done on her side of the Channel, and in the second place, the soldiers, who found themselves without occupation, wandered about in bands maltreating and plundering the people. The famous Italian scholar, Petrarch, who visited France at this period, tells us that he could not believe that this was the same kingdom which he had once seen so rich and flourishing. "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins. Even about Paris there were everywhere signs of fire and destruction. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds."

The bubonic plague of 1348–1349, commonly called the black death

The horrors of war had been increased by the deadly bubonic plague which appeared in Europe early in 1348. In April it had reached Florence; by August it was devastating France and Germany; it then spread over England from the southwest northward, attacking every part of the country during the year 1349. This disease, like other terrible epidemics, such as smallpox and cholera, came from Asia. Those who were stricken with it usually died in two or three days. It is impossible to tell what proportion of the population perished. Reports of the time say that in one part of France but one tenth of the people survived, in another but one sixteenth; and that for a long time five hundred bodies were carried from the great hospital of Paris every day. A careful estimate shows that in England toward one half of the population died. At the Abbey of Newenham only the abbot and two monks were left alive out of twenty-six. There were constant complaints that certain lands were no longer of any value to their lords because the tenants were all dead.

Conditions of English labor

In England the growing discontent among the farming classes may be ascribed partly to the results of the great pestilence and partly to the new taxes which were levied in order to prolong the disastrous war with France. Up to this time the majority of those who cultivated the land belonged to some particular manor, paid stated dues to their lord, and performed definite services for him. Hitherto there had been relatively few farm hands who might be hired and who sought employment anywhere that they could get it. The black death, by greatly decreasing the number of laborers, raised wages and served to increase the importance of the unattached laborer. Consequently he not only demanded higher wages than ever before but readily deserted one employer when another offered him more money.

The Statutes of Laborers issued in 1351 and following years

This appeared very shocking to those who were accustomed to the traditional rates of payment; and the government undertook to keep down wages by prohibiting laborers from asking more than had been customary during the years that preceded the pestilence. Every laborer, when offered work at the established wages, was ordered to accept it on pain of imprisonment. The first "Statute of Laborers" was issued in 1351; but apparently it was not obeyed and similar laws were enacted from time to time for a century.

Breaking up of the mediæval manors in England

The old manor system was breaking up. Many of the laboring class in the country no longer held land as serfs but moved from place to place and made a living by working for wages. The villain, as the serf was called in England, began to regard the dues which he had been accustomed to pay to his lord as unjust. A petition to Parliament in 1377 asserts that the villains are refusing to pay their customary services to their lords or to acknowledge the obligations which they owe as serfs.

The peasant revolt of 1381

In 1381 the peasants rose in revolt against the taxes levied on them to carry on the hopeless war with France. They burned some of the houses of the nobles and of the rich ecclesiastics, and took particular pains to see that the registers were destroyed

which were kept by the various lords enumerating the obligations of their serfs.

Final disappearance of serfdom in England

Although the peasants met with little success, serfdom decayed rapidly. It became more and more common for the serf to pay his dues to the lord in money instead of working for him, and in this way he lost one of the chief characteristics of a serf. The landlord then either hired men to cultivate the fields which he reserved for his own use, or rented the land to tenants. These tenants were not in a position to force their fellow tenants on the manor to pay the full dues which had formerly been exacted by the lord. Sixty or seventy years after the Peasants' War the English rural population had in one way or another become free men, and serfs had practically disappeared.

Renewal of Hundred Years' War in 1415

The war between England and France almost ceased for nearly forty years after the death of Edward III. It was renewed in 1415, and the English king won another great victory at Agincourt, similar to that won at Creçy. Once more the English bowmen slaughtered great numbers of French knights. Fifteen years later the English had succeeded in conquering all of France north of the Loire River; but a considerable region to the south still continued to be held by King Charles VII of France. He was weak and indolent and was doing nothing to check the English victories. The English were engaged in besieging the great town of Orleans when help and encouragement came to the French from a most unexpected quarter. A peasant girl put on a soldier's armor, mounted a horse, and led the faint-hearted French troops to victory.

Joan of Arc

To her family and her companions Joan of Arc seemed only "a good girl, simple and pleasant in her ways," but she brooded much over the disasters that had overtaken her country, and a "great pity on the fair realm of France" filled her heart. She saw visions and heard voices that bade her go forth to the help of the king and lead him to Rheims to be crowned.

It was with the greatest difficulty that she got anybody to believe in her mission or to help her to get an audience with

Relief of Orleans by Joan, 1429

her sovereign. But her own firm faith in her divine guidance triumphed over all doubts and obstacles. She was at last accepted as a God-sent champion and placed at the head of some troops dispatched to the relief of Orléans. This city, which was the key to southern France, had been besieged by the English for some months and was on the point of surrender. Joan, who rode at the head of her troops, clothed in armor like a man, had now become the idol of the soldiers and of the people. Under the guidance and inspiration of her courage, sound sense, and burning enthusiasm, Orléans was relieved and the English completely routed. The Maid of Orléans, as she was henceforth called, was now free to conduct the king to Rheims, where he was crowned in the cathedral (July 17, 1429).

The Maid now felt that her mission was accomplished and begged permission to return to her home and her brothers and sisters. To this the king would not consent, and she continued to fight his battles with success. But the other leaders were jealous of her, and even her friends, the soldiers, were sensitive to the taunt of being led by a woman. During the defense of Compiègne in May, 1430, she was allowed to fall into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who sold her to the English. They were not satisfied with simply holding as prisoner that strange maiden who had so discomfited them; they wished to discredit everything that she had done, and so declared, and undoubtedly believed, that she was a witch who had been helped by the devil. She was tried by a court of clergymen, found guilty, and burned at Rouen in 1431. Her bravery and noble constancy affected even her executioners, and an English soldier who had come to triumph over her death was heard to exclaim: "We are lost — we have burned a saint." The English cause in France was indeed lost, for her spirit and example had given new courage and vigor to the French armies.

Execution of Joan, 1431

England loses her French possessions

The English Parliament became more and more reluctant to grant funds when there were no more victories gained. From this time on the English lost ground steadily. They were

expelled from Normandy in 1450. Three years later, the last vestige of their possessions in southern France passed into the hands of the French king. The Hundred Years' War was over, and although England still retained Calais, the great question whether she should extend her sway upon the Continent was finally settled.

End of the Hundred Years' War, 1453

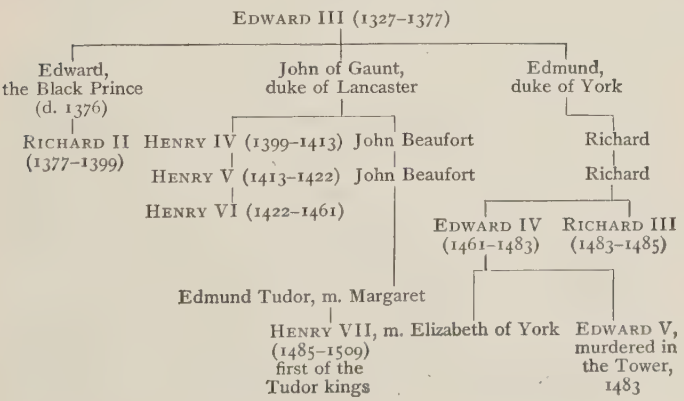
The close of the Hundred Years' War was followed in England by the Wars of the Roses, between the rival houses which were struggling for the crown. The badge of the house of Lancaster was a red rose, and that of York was a white one.[1] Each party was supported by a group of the wealthy and powerful nobles whose conspiracies, treasons, murders, and executions fill the annals of England during the period which we have been discussing.

The Wars of the Roses between the houses of Lancaster and York, 1455–1485

The nobles no longer owed their power as they had in previous centuries to *vassals* who were bound to follow them to war. Like the king, they relied upon *hired soldiers*. It was easy to find plenty of restless fellows who were willing to become the retainers of a nobleman if he would agree to clothe them and keep open house, where they might eat and drink their fill. Their master was to help them when they got into trouble, and

Retainers

[1] Descent of the rival houses of Lancaster and York:



they on their part were expected to intimidate, misuse, and even murder at need those who opposed the interests of their chief.

Accession of Henry VII, 1485

It is needless to speak of the several battles and the many skirmishes of the miserable Wars of the Roses. These lasted from 1455, when the Duke of York set seriously to work to displace the weak-minded Lancastrian king (Henry VI), until the accession of Henry VII, of the house of Tudor, thirty years later. (See table on page 139.)

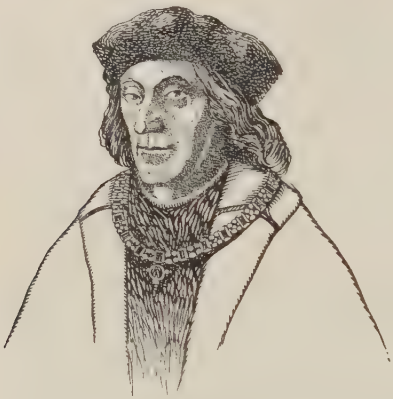


FIG. 41. PORTRAIT OF HENRY VII

The Wars of the Roses had important results. Nearly all the powerful families of England had been drawn into the war, and a great part of the nobility, whom the kings had formerly feared, had perished on the battlefield or lost their heads in the ruthless executions carried out by each party after it gained a victory. This left the king far more powerful than ever before. He could now control Parliament, even if he could not do away with it. For a century and more after the accession of Henry VII the Tudor kings enjoyed almost despotic power. England ceased for a time to enjoy the free government for which the foundations had been laid under the Edwards, whose embarrassments at home and abroad had made them constantly dependent upon the aid of the nation.

The despotism of the Tudors

France establishes a standing army, 1439

In France the closing years of the Hundred Years' War had witnessed a great increase of the king's power through the establishment of a well-organized standing army. The feudal

army had long since disappeared. Even before the opening of the war the nobles had begun to be paid for their military services and no longer furnished troops as a condition of holding fiefs. But the companies of soldiers found their pay very uncertain, and plundered their countrymen as well as the enemy.

As the war drew to a close, the lawless troopers became a terrible scourge to the country and were known as *flayers*, on account of the horrible way in which they tortured the peasants in the hope of extracting money from them. In 1439 the Estates General approved a plan devised by the king, for putting an end to this evil. Thereafter no one was to raise a company without the permission of the king, who was to name the captains and fix the number of the soldiers.

The permanent tax fatal to the powers of the Estates General

The Estates agreed that the king should use a certain tax, called the *taille*, to support the troops necessary for the protection of the frontier. This was a fatal concession, for the king now had an army and the right to collect what he chose to consider a permanent tax, the amount of which he later greatly increased; he was not dependent, as was the English king, upon the grants made for brief periods by the representatives of the nation.

The new feudalism

Before the king of France could hope to establish a compact, well-organized state it was necessary for him to reduce the power of his vassals, some of whom were almost his equals in strength. The older feudal families had many of them succumbed to the attacks and the diplomacy of the kings of the thirteenth century, especially of St. Louis. But he and his successors had raised up fresh rivals by granting whole provinces to their younger sons. In this way new and powerful lines of feudal nobles were established, such, for example, as the houses of Orléans, Anjou, Bourbon, and, above all, Burgundy. The process of reducing the power of the nobles had, it is true, been begun. They had been forbidden to coin money, to maintain armies, and to tax their subjects, and the powers of the king's judges had been

Work of Louis XI

extended over all the realm. But the task of consolidating France was reserved for the son of Charles VII, the shrewd and treacherous Louis XI (1461–1483).

The most powerful and dangerous of Louis XI's vassals were the dukes of Burgundy, and they gave him a great deal of trouble. Of Burgundy something will be said in a later chapter. Louis XI had himself made heir to a number of provinces in central and southern France, — Anjou, Maine, Provence, etc., — which by the death of their possessors came under the king's immediate control (1481). He humiliated in various ways the vassals who in his early days had combined against him. The Duke of Alençon he imprisoned; the rebellious Duke of Nemours he caused to be executed in the most cruel manner. Louis's aims were worthy, but his means were generally despicable. It sometimes seemed as if he gloried in being the most rascally among rascals, the most treacherous among the traitors.

Fig. 42. Louis XI of France

England and France establish strong national governments

Both England and France emerged from the troubles and desolations of the Hundred Years' War stronger than ever before. In both countries the kings had overcome the menace of feudalism by destroying the power of the great families. The royal government was becoming constantly more powerful. Commerce and industry increased the people's wealth and supplied the monarchs with the revenue necessary to maintain government officials and a sufficient army to keep order throughout their realms. They were no longer forced to rely upon the uncertain fidelity of their vassals. In short, England and France were both becoming modern states.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 23. Tell what you can about England before the Norman Conquest. How did Normandy come into existence? How did William of Normandy get possession of England? What was William's policy after he conquered England?

SECTION 24. Mention some of the reforms of Henry II. Describe Henry's troubles with Thomas à Becket. What was the extent of the possessions of the Plantagenets in France? In what way did the French king succeed in getting a considerable part of the Plantagenet possessions into his own hands? Describe the chief events in the reign of King John of England.

SECTION 25. How was the Great Charter granted, and what were some of its main provisions? What is the English Parliament? When was it formed? What were its powers?

SECTION 26. When was Wales conquered by the English kings? What are the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland? Tell of the attempts of Edward I to get possession of Scotland.

SECTION 27. Give the origin and general course of the Hundred Years' War under Edward III. Why did not the Estates General become as powerful as the English Parliament? Tell about the black death. What led to the disappearance of serfdom in England? Give an account of Joan of Arc. What were the great causes of disorder in England during the generation before the accession of Henry VII? Why did feudalism revive in France? What was accomplished by Louis XI?

CHAPTER VIII

POPES AND EMPERORS

Origin of the Holy Roman Empire

28. Charlemagne's successors in the German part of his empire found it quite as hard as did the kings of the western, or French, kingdom to keep control of their vassals. Germany, like France, was divided up into big and little fiefs, and the dukes and counts were continually waging war upon each other and upon their king. The general causes of this chronic disorder in the Middle Ages have been described in a previous chapter.

Otto the Great (936–973)

The first German ruler whom we need to notice here was Otto the Great, who came to the throne in the year 936. He got as many of the great fiefs as possible into the hands of his relatives in the hope that they would be faithful to him. He put an end forever to the invasions of the Hungarians who had been ravaging Germany. He defeated them in a great battle near Augsburg and drove them out of his realms. As has already been said (see above, p. 92), they finally settled in eastern Europe and laid the foundations of what is now the important State of Hungary.

But the most noteworthy of Otto's acts was his interference in Italian affairs, which led to his winning for the German kings the imperial crown that Charlemagne had worn. We have seen how Charlemagne's successors divided up his realms into three parts by the Treaty of Mersen in 870 (see above, p. 88). One of these parts was the kingdom of Italy. We know but little of what went on in Italy for some time after the Treaty of Mersen. There was incessant warfare, and the disorder was increased by the attacks of the Mohammedans. Various powerful nobles were able to win the crown for short periods. Three at least of these Italian kings were crowned emperor by the pope. Then for a generation there was no emperor in the west, until Otto the Great again secured the title.

Otto the Great becomes king of Italy and later is crowned emperor, 962

It would seem as if Otto had quite enough trouble at home, but he thought that it would make him and his reign more glorious if he added northern Italy to his realms. So in 951 he crossed the Alps, married the widow of one of the Italian kings, and, without being formally crowned, was generally acknowledged as king of Italy. He had to hasten back to Germany to put down a revolt organized by his own son, but ten years later he was called to Rome by the pope to protect him from the attacks of his enemies. Otto accepted the invitation, and the grateful pope in return crowned him emperor, as Charlemagne's successor (962).

The coronation of Otto was a very important event in German history; for, from this time on, the German kings, instead of confining their attention to keeping their own kingdom in order, were constantly distracted by the necessity of keeping hold on their Italian kingdom, which lay on the other side of a great range of mountains. Worse than that, they felt that they must see to it that a pope friendly to them was elected, and this greatly added to their troubles.

The succeeding German emperors had usually to make several costly and troublesome journeys to Rome, — a first one to be crowned, and then others either to depose a hostile pope or

to protect a friendly one from the oppression of neighboring lords. These excursions were very distracting, especially to a ruler who left behind him in Germany a rebellious nobility that always took advantage of his absence to revolt.

The Holy Roman Empire

Otto's successors dropped their old title of king of the East Franks as soon as they had been duly crowned by the pope at Rome, and assumed the magnificent and all-embracing designation, "Emperor Ever August of the Romans."[1] Their "Holy Roman Empire," as it came to be called later, which was to endure, in name at least, for more than eight centuries, was obviously even less like that of the ancient Romans than was Charlemagne's. As *kings* in Germany and Italy they had practically all the powers that they enjoyed as *emperors*. The title of emperor was of course a proud one, but it gave the German kings no additional power except the fatal right that they claimed of taking part in the election of the pope. We shall find that, instead of making themselves feared at home and building up a great state, the German emperors wasted their strength in a long struggle with the popes, who proved themselves in the end far stronger, and eventually reduced the Empire to a mere shadow.

The Church and its Property

Wealth of the Church

29. In order to understand the long struggle between the emperors and the popes, we must stop a moment to consider the condition of the Church in the early Middle Ages. It seemed to be losing all its strength and dignity and to be falling apart, just as Charlemagne's empire had dissolved into feudal bits. This was chiefly due to the vast estates of the clergy. Kings, princes, and rich landowners had long considered it meritorious to make donations to bishoprics and

[1] Henry II (1002–1024) and his successors, not venturing to assume the title of emperor till crowned at Rome, but anxious to claim Rome as attached to the German crown, began to call themselves, before their coronation, King of the Romans.

EUROPE
ABOUT A. D. 1000
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West 5 from Greenwich
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
Durham
York
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
Chester
WALES
Cardiff
Oxford
London
Norwich
Canterbury
Hastings
Boulogne
Crecy
Agincourt
Arras
Liege
Ghent
Utrecht
LOWER LOTHRINGEN
Cambrai
Laon
Rouen
NORMANDY
Paris
D'Y OF FRANCIA
Orleans
Troyes
Verdun
UPPER LOTHRINGEN
Metz
Toul
Strasbourg
D'Y OF BRITTANY
Nantes
Loire
Tours
Poitiers
Bourges
D'Y OF BURGUNDY
Besancon
Autun
F R A N C E
D'Y OF AQUITAINE
Limoges
Lyon
Vienne
Geneva
BURGUNDIAN KINGDOM
Bordeaux
Garonne
Bayonne
D'Y OF GASCONY
CO. OF TOULOUSE
Rhone
Nimes
Arles
Avignon
Marseilles
Oviedo
ASTURIA
Leon
KINGDOM OF LEON
Burgos
K. OF NAVARRE
Pamplona
K. OF ARAGON
Narbonne
CASTILE
CO. OF BARCELONA
Ebro
Zamora
Salamanca
Saragossa
Lerida
Barcelona
Tagus
Toledo
Cuenca
Lisbon
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
SARACENIC POSSE
Valencia
Balearic Islea
Cordova
Seville
Murcia
Cartagena
Malaga
Strait of Gibraltar
EMPIRE OF THE FAT

15
20
25
30
55
50
45
40
LITHUANIANS
Bornholm
Lund
Minsk
Danzig
PRUSSIANS
Rugen
Kolberg
POMERANIA
(To Poland)
Stettin
Vistula
Plock
Pinsk
Pripet
Tchernigov
Gnesen
Posen
DUCHY
OF
POLAND
Oder
Kiev
(Kyew)
Brandenburg
NORTH MARK
EAST MARK
Lusatia
Meissen
MARK OF MEISSEN
Erfurt
Halberstadt
Belsk
Krakow
DUCHY OF
Prague
Olmütz
BOHEMIA
MARK OF
MORAVIA
CARPATHIA
Hallsc
Dniester
Brünn
Regenburg
MARK OF
AUSTRIA
Danube
Pressburg
Erlau
Gran
Tisza
Dwina
Augsburg
DUCHY OF
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Stuhlweissenburg
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Brixen
DUCHY OF
CARINTHIA
Villach
Belluno
MARK OF VERONA
Fünfkirchen
Drava
Maros
PETSCHENEGS
(PATZINAKS)
Aquileia
Zagrei
(Agram)
Venice
R. OF
Sava
Sirmium
Belgrade
Danube
Varna
CROATIA
Vidin
Nicopolis
Peristhlava
Tirnovo
Ravenna
Zara
SERBIA
Philippopolis
Florence
Ancona
Spalato
Nissa
Triaditza
(Sofia)
THEME OF
PELAGONIA
THEME OF
THRACE
TUSCANY
Ragusa
Dioclea
Scodra
Skopia
Constantinople
Siena
Spoleto
STATE
OF THE
CHURCH
Sutri
Rome
BENEVENTO
Benevento
Durrachium
(Durazzo)
Okhrida
Salonika
THEME OF
THESSALONICA
Bari
Brindisi
Kastoria
Adramyttium
Naples
NAPLES
Salerno
SALERNO
Larissa
THEME OF THE
AEGEAN
THEME OF
CALABRIA
EASTERN
EMPIRE
THEME OF
HELLAS
Athens
ISLANDS
Messina
Reggio
CEPHALENIA
Corinth
Argos
Palermo
SICILY
Catania
PELOPONNESUS
CRETE
Longitude East 15 from Greenwich 20

monasteries, so that a very considerable portion of the land in western Europe had come into the hands of churchmen.

The Church lands drawn into the feudal system

A king, or other landed proprietor, might grant fiefs to churchmen as well as to laymen. The bishops became the vassals of the king or of other feudal lords by doing homage for a fief and swearing fidelity, just as any other vassal would do. An abbot would sometimes secure for his monastery the protection of a neighboring lord by giving up his land and receiving it back again as a fief.

Fiefs held by churchmen not hereditary

One great difference, however, existed between the Church lands and the ordinary fiefs. According to the law of the Church, the bishops and abbots could not marry and so could have no children to whom they might transmit their property. Consequently, when a landholding churchman died, some one had to be chosen in his place who should enjoy his property and perform his duties. The rule of the Church had been, from time immemorial, that the clergy of the diocese should choose the bishop, their choice being ratified by the people. As for the abbots, they were, according to the Rule of St. Benedict, to be chosen by the members of the monastery.

Bishops and abbots practically chosen by the feudal lords

In spite of these rules, the bishops and abbots had come, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, to be selected, to all intents and purposes, by the various kings and feudal lords. It is true that the outward forms of a regular election were usually permitted; but the feudal lord made it clear whom he wished chosen, and if the wrong person was elected, he simply refused to hand over to him the lands attached to the bishopric or abbey. The lord could in this way control the choice of the prelates, for in order to become a real bishop or abbot, one had not only to be elected, he had also to be solemnly "invested" with the appropriate powers of a bishop or abbot and with his lands.

Investiture

When a bishop or abbot had been duly chosen, the feudal lord proceeded to the *investiture*. The new bishop or abbot first became the "man" of the lord by doing him homage, and then

the lord transferred to him the lands and rights attached to the office. No careful distinction appears to have been made between the property and the religious powers. The lord often conferred both by bestowing upon a bishop the ring and the crosier (see headpiece to Chapter X, p. 181), the emblems of religious authority. It seemed shocking enough that the lord, who was often a rough soldier, should dictate the selection of the bishops; but it was still more shocking that he should assume to confer religious powers with religious emblems. Yet even worse things might happen, since sometimes the lord, for his greater convenience, had himself made bishop.

Attitude of the Church toward its property

The Church itself naturally looked at the property attached to a church office as a mere incident and considered the religious prerogatives the main thing. And since the clergy alone could rightly confer these, it was natural that they should claim the right to bestow the lands ("temporalities") attached to them, upon whomsoever they pleased without consulting any layman whatever.

Attitude of the king

Against this claim the king might urge that a simple minister of the Gospel, or a holy monk, was by no means necessarily fitted to manage the interests of a feudal state, such as the great archbishoprics and bishoprics, and even the abbeys, had become in Germany and elsewhere in the eleventh century.

Difficult position of the bishops in Germany and elsewhere

In short, the situation in which the bishops found themselves was a very complicated one. (1) As an officer of the Church, the bishop saw to it that parish priests were properly selected and ordained, he tried certain cases in his court, and performed the Church ceremonies. (2) He managed the lands which belonged to the bishopric, which might, or might not, be fiefs. (3) As a vassal of those who had granted lands to the bishopric upon feudal terms, he owed the usual feudal dues, including the duty of furnishing troops to his lord. (4) Lastly, in Germany, the king had found it convenient, from about the beginning of the eleventh century, to confer upon the bishops in many cases the authority of a count in the districts about them. In this

way they might have the right to collect tolls, coin money, and perform other important governmental duties. When a prelate took office he was invested with all these various functions at once, both spiritual and governmental.

To forbid the king to take part in the investiture was, consequently, to rob him not only of his feudal rights but also of his authority over many of his government officials, since bishops, and sometimes even abbots, were often counts in all but name. He therefore found it necessary to take care who got possession of the important church offices.

The marriage of the clergy threatens the wealth of the Church

Still another danger threatened the wealth and resources of the Church. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the rule of the Church prohibiting the clergy from marrying appears to have been widely neglected in Italy, Germany, France, and England. To the stricter people of the time this appeared a terrible degradation of the clergy, who, they felt, should be unencumbered by family cares and should devote themselves wholly to the service of God. The question, too, had another side. It was obvious that the property of the Church would soon be dispersed if the clergy were allowed to marry, since they would wish to provide for their children. Just as the feudal lands had become hereditary, so the church lands would become hereditary unless the clergy were forced to remain unmarried.

Buying and selling of Church offices

Besides the feudalizing of its property and the marriage of the clergy, there was a third great and constant source of weakness and corruption in the Church, at this period, namely, the temptation to buy and sell Church offices. Had the duties and responsibilities of the bishops, abbots, and priests always been heavy, and their income slight, there would have been little tendency to bribe those who could bestow the offices. But the incomes of bishoprics and abbeys were usually considerable, and sometimes very great, while the duties attached to the office of bishop or abbot, however serious in the eyes of the right-minded, might easily be neglected by the unscrupulous.

The revenue from a great landed estate and the high rank that went with the office were enough to induce the members of the noblest families to vie with each other in securing Church positions. The king or prince who possessed the right of investiture was sure of finding some one willing to pay something for important benefices.

Origin of the term "simony"

The sin of buying or selling Church offices was recognized as a most serious one. It was called "simony,"[1] a name derived from Simon the Magician, who, according to the account in the Acts of the Apostles, offered money to the Apostle Peter if he would give him the power of conferring the Holy Spirit upon those upon whom he should lay his hands. As the apostle denounced this first simonist, — "Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money" (Acts ix, 20), — so the Church has continued ever since to denounce those who propose to purchase its sacred powers.

Simony not really the sale of Church offices

Doubtless very few bought positions in the Church with the view of obtaining the "gift of God," that is to say, the religious office. It was the revenue and the honor that were chiefly coveted. Moreover, when a king or lord accepted a gift from one for whom he procured a benefice, he did not regard himself as selling the office; he merely shared its advantages. No transaction took place in the Middle Ages without accompanying gifts and fees of various kinds.

Simony corrupts the lower clergy

The evil of simony was, nevertheless, very demoralizing, for it spread downward and infected the whole body of the clergy. A bishop who had made a large outlay in obtaining his office naturally expected something from the priests, whom it was his duty to appoint. Then the priest, in turn, was tempted to exact too much for baptizing and marrying his parishioners, and for burying the dead.

So it seemed, at the opening of the eleventh century, as if the Church was to be dragged down by its property into the anarchy of feudalism described in a preceding chapter.

[1] Pronounced *sĭm'o-ny*.

The popes had therefore many difficulties to overcome in the gigantic task which they undertook of making the Church a great international monarchy, like the Roman Empire, with its capital at Rome: The control exercised by kings and feudal lords in the selection of Church officials had to be done away with. Simony with its degrading effects had to be abolished. The marriage of the clergy had to be checked, for fear that the property and wealth of the Church would go to their families and so be lost to the Church.

Pope Nicholas II places the election of the popes in the hands of the cardinals, 1059

The first great step toward the freeing of the Church from the control of the kings and feudal lords was taken by Pope Nicholas II. In 1059 he issued a remarkable decree which took the election of the head of the Church once for all out of the hands of both the emperor and the people of Rome, and placed it definitely and forever in the hands of the *cardinals*, who represented the Roman clergy.[1] Obviously the object of this decree was to prevent all interference, whether of the distant emperor, of the local nobility, or of the Roman mob. The college of cardinals still exists and still elects the pope.

Opposition to further reforms

The reform party which directed the policy of the popes had, it hoped, freed the head of the Church from the control of worldly men by putting his election in the hands of the Roman clergy. It now proposed to emancipate the Church as a whole from the base entanglements of earth: first, by strictly forbidding the married clergy to perform religious functions and by exhorting their flocks to refuse to attend their ministrations; and secondly, by depriving the kings and feudal lords of their influence over the choice of the bishops and abbots, since this

[1] The word "cardinal" (Latin, *cardinalis*," principal") was applied to the priests of the various parishes in Rome, to the several deacons connected with the Lateran, — which was the cathedral church of the Roman bishopric, — and, lastly, to six or seven suburban bishops who officiated in turn in the Lateran. The title became a very distinguished one and was sought by ambitious foreign prelates and ecclesiastical statesmen, like Wolsey, Richelieu, and Mazarin. If their official titles were examined, it would be found that each was nominally a cardinal bishop, priest, or deacon of some Roman Church. The number of cardinals varied until fixed, in 1586, at six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons.

influence was deemed the chief cause of worldliness among the prelates. Naturally these last measures met with far more general opposition than the new way of electing the pope. The magnitude of the task which the popes had undertaken first became fully apparent when the celebrated Gregory VII ascended the papal throne, in 1073.

Powers claimed by the Popes

The *Dictatus* of Gregory VII

30. Among the writings of Gregory VII there is a very brief statement, called the *Dictatus*, of the powers which he believed the popes to possess. Its chief claims are the following: The pope enjoys a unique title; he is the only *universal* bishop and may depose and reinstate other bishops or transfer them from place to place. No council of the Church may be regarded as speaking for Christendom without his consent. The Roman Church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity. No one may be considered a Catholic Christian who does not agree with the Roman Church. No book is authoritative unless it has received the papal sanction.

Gregory does not stop with asserting the pope's complete supremacy over the Church. He says that "the Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes"; that he may depose emperors and "absolve subjects from allegiance to an unjust ruler." No one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the pope. No one may annul a decree of the pope, though the pope may declare null and void the decrees of all other earthly powers; and no one may pass judgment upon his acts.

Gregory VII puts his theories of the papal power into practice

Immediately upon his election as pope, Gregory began to put into practice his high conception of the rôle that the religious head of Christendom should play. He dispatched legates throughout Europe, and from this time on these legates became a powerful instrument of the Church's government. He warned the kings of France and England and the youthful German ruler, Henry IV, to forsake their evil ways, to be upright and

just, and to obey his admonitions. He explained, kindly but firmly, to William the Conqueror that the papal and kingly powers are both established by God as the greatest among the authorities of the world, just as the sun and moon are the greatest of the heavenly bodies. But the papal power is obviously superior to the kingly, for it is responsible for it; at the Last Day Gregory would have, he urged, to render an account of the king as one of the flock intrusted to his care. The king of France was warned to give up his practice of simony, lest he be excommunicated and his subjects freed from their oath of allegiance. All these acts of Gregory appear to have been dictated not by worldly ambition but by a fervent conviction of their righteousness and of his heavy responsibility toward all men.

Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV

31. Obviously Gregory's plan of reform included all the states of western Europe, but conditions were such that the most striking conflict took place between him and the emperor. The trouble came about in this way. Henry IV's father had died in 1056, leaving only his good wife Agnes and their little son of six years to maintain the hard-fought prerogatives of the German king in the midst of ambitious vassals whom even the strong Otto the Great had found it difficult to control.

Accession of Henry IV, 1065. Trouble with the pope

In 1065 the fifteen-year-old lad, Henry IV, was declared of age, and his lifelong difficulties began with a great rebellion of the Saxons. They accused the young king of having built castles in their land and of filling them with rough soldiers who preyed upon the people. Pope Gregory felt it his duty to interfere. To him the Saxons appeared a people oppressed by a heedless youth guided by evil counselors. But Henry continued to associate with counselors whom the pope had excommunicated and went on filling important bishoprics in Germany and Italy, regardless of the pope's prohibitions.

New prohibition of lay investiture

The popes who immediately preceded Gregory had more than once forbidden the churchmen to receive investiture from laymen. Gregory reissued this prohibition in 1075, just as the trouble with Henry had begun. Investiture was, as we have seen (see above, p. 147), the legal transfer by the king, or other lord, to a newly chosen Church official, of the lands and rights attached to the office. In forbidding lay investiture Gregory attempted nothing less than a revolution. The bishops and abbots were often officers of government, exercising in Germany and Italy powers similar in all respects to those of the counts. The king not only relied upon them for advice and assistance in carrying on his government, but they were among his chief allies in his constant struggles with his vassals.

Henry IV angered by the language of the papal legates

Gregory dispatched three envoys to Henry (end of 1075) with a fatherly letter[1] in which he reproached the king for his wicked conduct. But he evidently had little expectation that mere expostulation would have any effect upon Henry, for he gave his legates instructions to use threats, if necessary. The legates were to tell the king that his crimes were so numerous, so horrible, and so well known, that he merited not only excommunication but the permanent loss of all his royal honors.

Gregory VII deposed by a council of German bishops at Worms, 1076

The violence of the legates' language not only kindled the wrath of the king but also gained for him friends among the bishops. A council which Henry summoned at Worms (in 1076) was attended by more than two thirds of all the German bishops. Here Gregory was declared deposed, and many terrible charges of immorality brought against him. The bishops publicly proclaimed that he had ceased to be their pope. It appears very surprising, at first sight, that the king should have received the prompt support of the German churchmen against the head of the Church. But it must be remembered that the prelates really owed their offices to the king and not to the pope.

Gregory's reply to Henry and the German bishops who had deposed him was speedy and decisive. "Incline thine ear to

[1] To be found in the *Readings*, chap. xiii.

us, O Peter, chief of the Apostles. As thy representative and by thy favor has the power been granted especially to me by God of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. On the strength of this, for the honor and glory of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, who has risen against thy Church with unheard-of insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy. I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have sworn, or may swear, to him; and I forbid anyone to serve him as king."[1]

Henry IV deposed and excommunicated by the pope

For a time after the pope had deposed him everything went against Henry. Instead of resenting the pope's interference, the discontented Saxons, and many other of Henry's vassals, believed that there was now an excellent opportunity to get rid of Henry and choose a more agreeable ruler. The pope was even invited to come to Augsburg to consult with the princes as to whether Henry should continue to be king or another ruler should be chosen in his stead. It looked as if the pope was, in truth, to control the civil government.

Attitude of the German princes

Henry decided to anticipate the arrival of the pope. He hastened across the Alps in midwinter and appeared as an humble suppliant before the castle of Canossa,[2] whither the pope had come on his way to Augsburg. For three days the German king presented himself before the closed door, barefoot and in the coarse garments of a pilgrim and a penitent, and even then Gregory was induced only by the expostulations of his influential companions to admit the humiliated ruler. The spectacle of this mighty prince of distinguished appearance, humiliated and in tears before the little man who humbly styled himself the

Henry submits to the pope at Canossa, 1077

[1] Gregory's deposition and excommunication of Henry may be found in the *Readings*, chap. xiii.

[2] The castle of Canossa belonged to Gregory VII's ally and admirer, the Countess of Tuscany. It was destroyed by the neighboring town of Reggio about two centuries after Gregory's time, and only the ivy-clad ruins, represented in the headpiece of this chapter, remain.

"servant of the servants of God," has always been regarded as most completely typifying the power of the Church and the potency of her curses, against which even the most exalted of the earth found no weapon of defense except abject penitence.[1]

A new king chosen

The pardon which Henry received at Canossa did not satisfy the German princes. They therefore proceeded to elect another ruler, and the next three or four years was a period of bloody struggles between the adherents of the rival kings. Gregory remained neutral until 1080, when he again "bound with the chain of anathema" Henry, "the so-called king," and all his followers. He declared him deprived of his royal power and dignity and forbade all Christians to obey him.

Henry again excommunicated

Henry triumphs over Gregory

The new excommunication had precisely the opposite effect from the first one; it seemed to increase rather than decrease Henry's friends. The German clergy again deposed Gregory VII. Henry's rival for the throne fell in battle, and Henry betook himself to Italy with the double purpose of installing a pope of his own choice and winning the imperial crown. Gregory held out for no less than two years; but at last Rome fell into Henry's hands, and Gregory withdrew and soon after died. His last words were, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die an exile," and the fair-minded historical student will not question their truth.

Death of Gregory

Henry IV's further troubles

The death of Gregory did not, however, put an end to Henry's difficulties. He spent the remaining twenty years of his life in trying to maintain his rights as king of Germany and Italy against his rebellious subjects on both sides of the Alps. In Germany his chief enemies were the Saxons and his discontented vassals. In Italy the pope was now actively engaged as a temporal ruler, in building up a little state of his own, and he was always ready to encourage the Lombard cities in their opposition to the German emperors.

All his life long Henry was turning from one enemy to another. Finally, his discontented German vassals induced his

[1] For Gregory's own account of the affair at Canossa, see *Readings*, chap. xiii.

son, whom he had had crowned as his successor, to revolt against his father. Thereupon followed more civil war, more treason, and a miserable abdication. In 1106 death put an end to perhaps the saddest reign that history records. Death of Henry IV, 1106

The achievement of the reign of Henry IV's son, Henry V, which chiefly interests us was the adjustment of the question of investitures. Pope Paschal II, while willing to recognize those bishops already chosen by the king, provided they were good Henry V, 1106–1125

FIG. 43. MEDIEVAL PICTURES OF GREGORY VII

These pictures are taken from an illustrated manuscript written some decades after Gregory's death. In the one on the left Gregory is represented blowing out a candle and saying to his cardinals, "As I blow out this light, so will Henry IV be extinguished." In the one on the right is shown the death of Gregory (1085). He did not wear his crown in bed, but the artist wanted us to be sure to recognize that he was pope

men, proposed that thereafter Gregory's decrees against investiture by laymen should be carried out. The clergy should no longer do homage by laying their hands, consecrated to the service of the altar, in the bloodstained hands of the nobles. Henry V, on the other hand, declared that unless the clergy took the oath of fealty the bishops would not be given the lands, towns, castles, tolls, and privileges attached to the bishoprics.

After a succession of troubles a compromise was at last reached in the Concordat of Worms (1122), which put an end

Settlement of the question of lay investiture in the Concordat of Worms, 1122

to the controversy over investitures in Germany.[1] The emperor promised to permit the Church freely to elect the bishops and abbots and renounced his old claim to invest with the religious emblems of the ring and the crosier. But the elections were to be held in the presence of the king, and he was permitted, in a separate ceremony, to invest the new bishop or abbot with his fiefs and his governmental powers by a touch of the scepter. In this way the religious powers of the bishops were obviously conferred by the churchmen who elected him; and although the king might still practically invalidate an election by refusing to hand over the lands, nevertheless the direct appointment of the bishops and abbots was taken out of his hands. As for the emperor's control over the papacy, too many popes, since the advent of Henry IV, had been generally recognized as properly elected without the sanction of the emperor, for any one to believe any longer that his sanction was necessary.

The Hohenstaufen Emperors and the Popes

Frederick I (Barbarossa) of Hohenstaufen (1152–1190)

32. A generation after the matter of investitures had been arranged by the Concordat of Worms the most famous of German emperors, next to Charlemagne, came to the throne. This was Frederick I, commonly called Barbarossa, from his red beard. He belonged to the family of Hohenstaufen, so called from their castle in southern Germany. Frederick's ambition was to restore the Roman Empire to its old glory and influence. He regarded himself as the successor of the Cæsars, as well as of Charlemagne and Otto the Great. He believed his office to be quite as truly established by God himself as the papacy. When he informed the pope that he had been recognized as emperor by the German nobles, he too took occasion to state quite clearly that the headship of the Empire had been "bestowed upon him by God" and he did not ask the pope's sanction as his predecessors had done.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xiii.

In his lifelong attempt to maintain what he thought to be his rights as emperor he met, quite naturally, with the three old difficulties. He had constantly to be fighting his rivals and rebellious vassals in Germany; he had to face the opposition of the popes, who never forgot the claims that Gregory VII had made to control the emperor as well as other rulers. Lastly, Frederick's difficulties

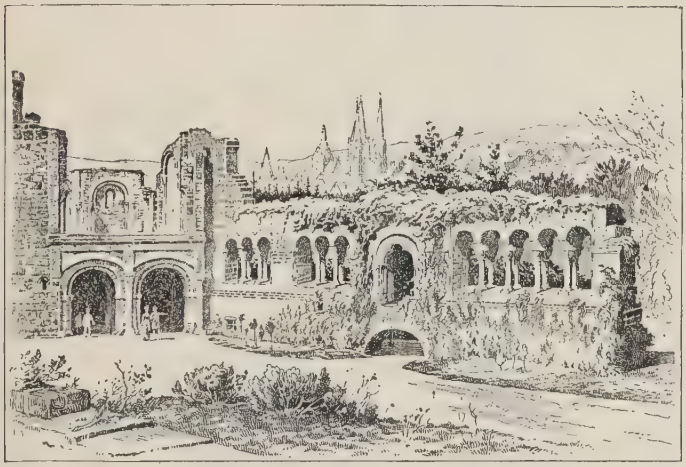


FIG. 44. RUINS OF BARBAROSSA'S PALACE AT GELNHAUSEN

Frederick Barbarossa erected a handsome palace at Gelnhausen (not far east of Frankfort). It was destroyed by the Swedes during the Thirty Years War (see section 68 below), but even what now remains is imposing, especially the arcade represented in the picture

in trying to keep hold of northern Italy, which he believed to belong to his empire, he spent a great deal of time with but slight results.

One of the greatest differences between the early Middle Ages and Frederick's time was the development of town life. Up to this period we have heard only of popes, emperors, kings, bishops, and feudal lords. From now on we shall have to take the towns and their citizens into account. No nation makes much progress Importance of the towns in human progress

without towns; for only when people get together in considerable numbers do they begin to build fine buildings, establish universities and libraries, make inventions and carry on trade, which brings them into contact with other people in their own country and in foreign lands. (See below, Chapter XI, for town life.)

ITALIAN TOWNS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Lombard towns

The towns had never decayed altogether in Italy, and by the time of Frederick Barbarossa they had begun to flourish once more, especially in Lombardy. Each of such towns as Milan, Verona, and Cremona were practically independent states. Their government was in the hands of the richer citizens, and the poorer people were not given any voice in city affairs. Compared

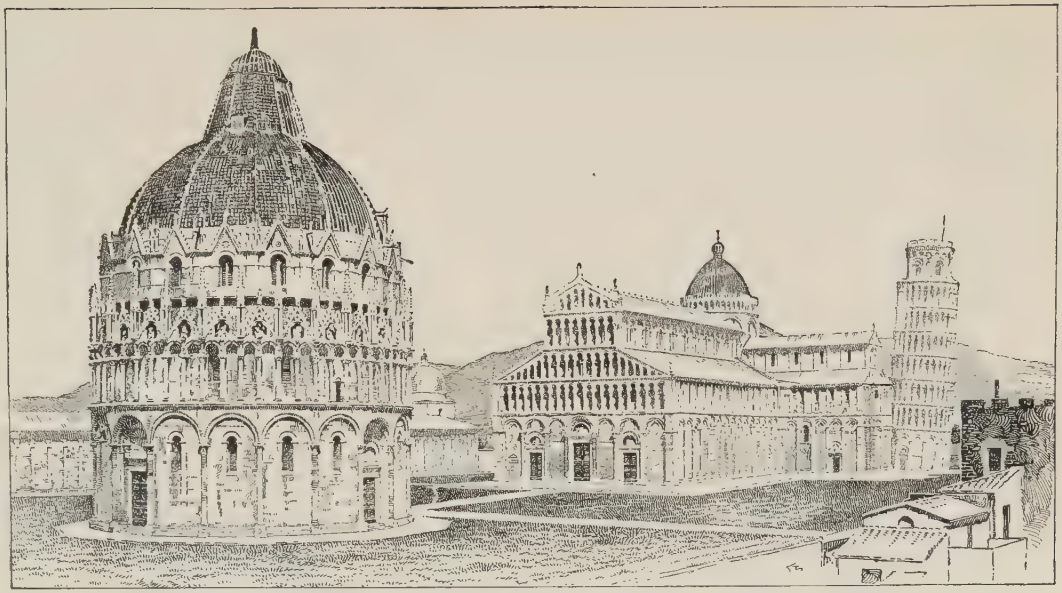


FIG. 45. CATHEDRAL, BAPTISTRY, AND LEANING TOWER AT PISA

Pisa was once a Roman colony with handsome buildings, all of which have disappeared. In the eleventh century it became an important commercial city. It took a considerable part in the Crusades, and its inhabitants were enriched by trade. The cathedral is a basilica, erected after the Pisans won a great naval battle over the Mohammedans in 1063. It was consecrated in 1118, not long before the time of Frederick Barbarossa. The circular baptistry in the foreground was begun in 1153, but was not completed for more than a century. The bell tower, which, owing to the sinking of the foundations, has become celebrated as the Leaning Tower, was begun in 1174, although not completed until much later

with a modern city they were very disorderly, for sometimes the poor revolted against the rich, and often the nobles, who had moved in from the country and built fortified palaces in the towns, fought among themselves. And then the various towns were always fighting one another.

But in spite of all the warfare and disorder, the Italian cities became wealthy and, as we shall see later, were centers of learning and art similar to the ancient cities of Greece, such as Athens and Corinth. They were able to combine in a union known as the Lombard League to oppose Frederick, for they hated the idea of paying taxes to a German king from across the Alps. Frederick made several expeditions to Italy, but he only succeeded, after a vast amount of trouble, in getting them to recognize him as a sort of overlord. He was forced to leave them to manage their own affairs and go their own way. They could, of course, always rely upon the pope, when it came to fighting the emperor, for he was quite as anxious as the towns to keep Frederick out of Italy.

The Hohenstaufens extend their claims to southern Italy

So Frederick failed in his great plans for restoring the Roman Empire; he only succeeded in adding a new difficulty for his descendants. In spite of his lack of success in conquering the Lombard cities, Frederick tried to secure *southern* Italy for his descendants. He arranged that his son should marry Constance, the heiress of Naples and Sicily. This made fresh trouble for the Hohenstaufen rulers, because the pope, as feudal lord of Naples and Sicily, was horrified at the idea of the emperor's controlling the territory to the south of the papal possessions as well as that to the north.

Frederick II and Innocent III

After some forty years of fighting in Germany and Italy Frederick Barbarossa decided to undertake a crusade to the Holy Land and lost his life on the way thither. His son was carried off by Italian fever while trying to put down a rebellion in southern Italy, leaving the fate of the Hohenstaufen family in the hands of his infant son and heir, the famous Frederick II. It would take much too long to try to tell of all the attempts of

rival German princes to get themselves made king of Germany and of the constant interference of the popes who sided now with this one and now with that. It happened that one of the greatest of all the popes, Innocent III, was ruling during Frederick II's early years. After trying to settle the terrible disorder in Germany he decided that Frederick should be made emperor, hoping to control him so that he would not become the dangerous enemy of the papacy that his father and grandfather had been. As a young man Frederick made all the promises that Innocent demanded, but he caused later popes infinite anxiety.

Character of Emperor Frederick II, 1212–1250

Frederick II was nearsighted, bald, and wholly insignificant in person; but he exhibited the most extraordinary energy and ability in the organization of his kingdom of Sicily, in which he was far more interested than in Germany. He drew up an elaborate code of laws for his southern realms and may be said to have founded the first modern well-regulated state, in which the king was indisputably supreme. He had been brought up in Sicily and was much influenced by the Mohammedan culture which prevailed there. He appears to have rejected many of the opinions of the time. His enemies asserted that he was not even a Christian, and that he declared that Moses, Christ, and Mohammed were all alike impostors.

His bitter struggle with the papacy

We cannot stop to relate the romantic and absorbing story of his long struggle with the popes. They speedily discovered that he was bent upon establishing a powerful state to the south of them, and upon extending his control over the Lombard cities in such a manner that the papal possessions would be held as in a vise. This, they felt, must never be permitted. Consequently almost every measure that Frederick adopted aroused their suspicion and opposition, and they made every effort to destroy him and his house.

Frederick recognized as king of Jerusalem

His chance of success in the conflict with the head of the Church was gravely affected by the promise which he had made before Innocent III's death to undertake a crusade. He was so busily engaged with his endless enterprises that he

kept deferring the expedition, in spite of the papal admonitions, until at last the pope lost patience and excommunicated him. While excommunicated, he at last started for the East. He met with signal success and actually brought Jerusalem, the Holy City, once more into Christian hands, and was himself recognized as king of Jerusalem.

Extinction of the Hohenstaufens' power

Frederick's conduct continued, however, to give offense to the popes. He was denounced in solemn councils, and at last deposed by one of the popes. After Frederick died (1250) his sons maintained themselves for a few years in the Sicilian kingdom; but they finally gave way before a French army, led by the brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou, upon whom the pope bestowed the southern realms of the Hohenstaufens.[1]

Frederick's death marks the close of the medieval empire

With Frederick's death the medieval empire may be said to have come to an end. It is true that after a period of "fist law," as the Germans call it, a new king, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was elected in Germany in 1273. The German kings continued to call themselves emperors. Few of them, however, took the trouble to go to Rome to be crowned by the pope. No serious effort was ever made to reconquer the Italian territory for which Otto the Great, Frederick Barbarossa, and his son and grandson had made such serious sacrifices. Germany was hopelessly divided and its king was no real king. He had no capital and no well-organized government.

Division of Germany and Italy into small independent states

By the middle of the thirteenth century it becomes apparent that neither Germany nor Italy was to be converted into a strong single kingdom like England and France. The map of Germany shows a confused group of duchies, counties, archbishropics, bishropics, abbacies, and free towns, each one of which asserted its practical independence of the weak king and emperor.

In northern Italy each town, including a certain district about its walls, had become an independent state, dealing with its

[1] An excellent account of Frederick's life is given by Henderson, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 349–397.

neighbors as with independent powers. The Italian towns were destined to become the birthplace of our modern culture during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Venice and Florence, in spite of their small size, came to be reckoned among the most important states of Europe (see section 45, below). In the central part of the peninsula the pope maintained more or less control over his possessions, but he often failed to subdue the towns within his realms. To the south Naples remained for some time under the French dynasty, which the pope had called in, while the island of Sicily drifted into Spanish hands.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 28. Describe the way in which the German kings gained the title of emperor. Why did they think that they ought to control the election of the pope? What do you understand by the Holy Roman Empire?

SECTION 29. What were the sources of wealth of the Church? What was the effect of the vast landholdings of the Church? What was investiture, and why did it raise difficulties between the popes and emperors? Why did the pope oppose the marriage of the clergy? How is the pope elected? What is a cardinal?

SECTION 30. What was the *Dictatus*, and what claims did it make?

SECTION 31. Describe the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII. What were the provisions of the Concordat of Worms?

SECTION 32. What new enemies did Frederick Barbarossa find in northern Italy? How did the German kings establish a claim to southern Italy? Give some facts about Innocent III. Narrate the struggle between Frederick II and the popes and its outcome. How many years elapsed between the death of Otto the Great and the accession of Henry IV? between the death of Henry IV and that of Frederick Barbarossa? between the death of Barbarossa and that of Frederick II?

CHAPTER IX

THE CRUSADES

Origin of the Crusades

33. Of all the events of the Middle Ages, the most romantic and fascinating are the Crusades, the adventurous expeditions to Syria and Palestine, undertaken by devout and adventurous kings and knights with the hope of permanently reclaiming the Holy Land from the infidel Turks. All through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries each generation beheld at least one great army of crusaders gathering from all parts of the West and starting toward the Orient. Each year witnessed the departure of small bands of pilgrims or of solitary soldiers of the cross.

For two hundred years there was a continuous stream of Europeans of every rank and station — kings and princes, powerful nobles, simple knights, common soldiers, ecclesiastics, monks, townspeople, and even peasants — from England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, making their way into western Asia. If they escaped the countless dangers which beset them on the journey, they either settled in this distant land and devoted themselves to war or commerce, or returned home, bringing with them tales of great cities and new peoples of skill, knowledge and luxury unknown in the West.

Natural temptation to overrate the importance of the Crusades

Our sources of information in regard to the Crusades are so abundant and so rich in picturesque incidents that writers have often yielded to the temptation to give more space to these expeditions than their consequences really justify. They were, after all, only one of the great foreign enterprises which have been undertaken from time to time by the European peoples. While their influence upon the European countries was doubtless very important, — like that of the later conquest of India by the English and the colonization of America, — the details of the campaigns in the East scarcely belong to the history of western Europe.

The Holy Land conquered first by the Arabs and then by the Turks

Syria had been overrun by the Arabs in the seventh century, shortly after the death of Mohammed, and the Holy City of Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the infidels. The Arab, however, shared the veneration of the Christian for the places associated with the life of Christ and, in general, permitted the Christian pilgrims who found their way thither to worship unmolested. But with the coming of a new and ruder people, the Seljuk Turks, in the eleventh century, the pilgrims began to bring home news of great hardships. Moreover, the eastern emperor was defeated by the Turks in 1071 and lost Asia Minor. The presence of the Turks, who had taken possession of the fortress of Nicæa, just across from Constantinople, was of course a standing menace to the Eastern Empire. When the energetic Emperor Alexius (1081–1118) ascended the throne he endeavored to expel the infidel. Finding himself unequal to the task, he appealed for assistance to the head of Christendom, Pope Urban II. The first great impetus to the Crusades was the call issued by Urban at the celebrated church council which met in 1095 at Clermont in France.

Eastern emperor appeals to the pope for aid against the infidel Turks

In an address, which produced more remarkable immediate results than any other which history records, the pope exhorted knights and soldiers of all ranks to give up their usual wicked business of destroying their Christian brethren in private warfare (see section 22, above) and turn, instead, to the succor

Urban II issues the call to the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont, 1095

of their fellow Christians in the East. He warned them that the insolent Turks would, if unchecked, extend their sway still more widely over the faithful servants of the Lord. Urban urged, besides, that France was too poor to support all its people, while the Holy Land flowed with milk and honey. "Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest the land from the wicked race and subject it to yourselves." When the pope had finished, all who were present exclaimed, with one accord, "It is the will of God." This, the pope declared, should be the rallying cry of the crusaders, who were to wear a cross upon their bosoms as they went forth, and upon their backs as they returned, as a holy sign of their sacred mission.[1]

The motives of the crusaders

The Crusades are ordinarily represented as the most striking examples of the simple faith and religious enthusiasm of the Middle Ages. They appealed, however, to many different kinds of men. The devout, the romantic, and the adventurous were by no means the only classes that were attracted. Syria held out inducements to the discontented noble who might hope to gain a principality in the East, to the merchant who was looking for new enterprises, to the merely restless who wished to avoid his responsibilities at home, and even to the criminal who enlisted with a view of escaping the results of his past offenses.

It is noteworthy that Urban appeals especially to those who had been "contending against their brethren and relatives," and urges those "who have hitherto been robbers now to become soldiers of Christ." And the conduct of many of the crusaders indicates that the pope found a ready hearing among this class. Yet higher motives than a love of adventure and the hope of conquest impelled many who took their way eastward. Great numbers, doubtless, went to Jerusalem "through devotion alone, and not for the sake of honor or gain," with the sole object of freeing the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidel.

To such as these the pope promised that the journey itself should take the place of all penance for sin. The faithful

[1] For the speech of Urban, see *Readings*, chap. xv.

crusader, like the faithful Mohammedan, was assured of immediate entrance into heaven if he died repentant. Later, the Church exhibited its extraordinary authority by what would seem to us an unjust interference with business contracts. It freed those who "with a pure heart" entered upon the journey from the payment of interest upon their debts, and permitted them to mortgage property against the wishes of their feudal lords. The crusaders' wives and children and property were taken under the immediate protection of the Church, and he who troubled them incurred excommunication. These various considerations help to explain the great popularity of undertakings that, at first sight, would seem to have promised only hardships and disappointment.

Privileges of the crusaders

The Council of Clermont met in November. Before spring (1096) those who set forth to preach the Crusade, — above all, the famous Peter the Hermit, who was formerly given credit for having begun the whole crusading movement, — had collected, in France and along the Rhine, an extraordinary army of the common folk. Peasants, workmen, vagabonds, and even women and children answered the summons, all blindly intent upon rescuing the Holy Sepulcher, two thousand miles away. They were confident that the Lord would sustain them during the weary leagues of the journey, and that, when they reached the Holy Land, he would grant them a prompt victory over the infidel.

Peter the Hermit and his army

This great host was got under way in several divisions under the leadership of Peter the Hermit, and of Walter the Penniless and other humble knights. Many of the crusaders were slaughtered by the Hungarians, who rose to protect themselves from the depredations of this motley horde in its passage through their country. Part of them got as far as Nicæa, only to be slaughtered by the Turks. This is but an example, on a large scale, of what was going on continually for a century or so after this first great catastrophe. Individual pilgrims and adventurers, and sometimes considerable bodies of crusaders,

were constantly falling a prey to every form of disaster — starvation, slavery, disease, and death — in their persistent endeavors to reach the far away Holy Land.

The First Crusade

The First Crusade, 1096

34. The most conspicuous figures of the long period of the Crusades are not, however, to be found among the lowly followers of Peter the Hermit, but are the knights, in their long coats of flexible armor. A year after the summons issued at Clermont great armies of fighting men had been collected in the West under distinguished leaders — the pope speaks of three hundred thousand soldiers. Of the various divisions which were to meet in Constantinople, the following were the most important: the volunteers from Provence under the papal legate and Count Raymond of Toulouse; inhabitants of Germany, particularly of Lorraine, under Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, both destined to be rulers of Jerusalem; and lastly, an army of French and of the Normans of southern Italy under Bohemond and Tancred.[1]

The distinguished noblemen who have been mentioned were not actually in command of real armies. Each crusader undertook the expedition on his own account and was only obedient to any one's orders so long as he pleased. The knights and men naturally grouped themselves around the more noted leaders, but considered themselves free to change chiefs when they pleased. The leaders themselves reserved the right to look out for their own special interests rather than sacrifice themselves to the good of the expedition.

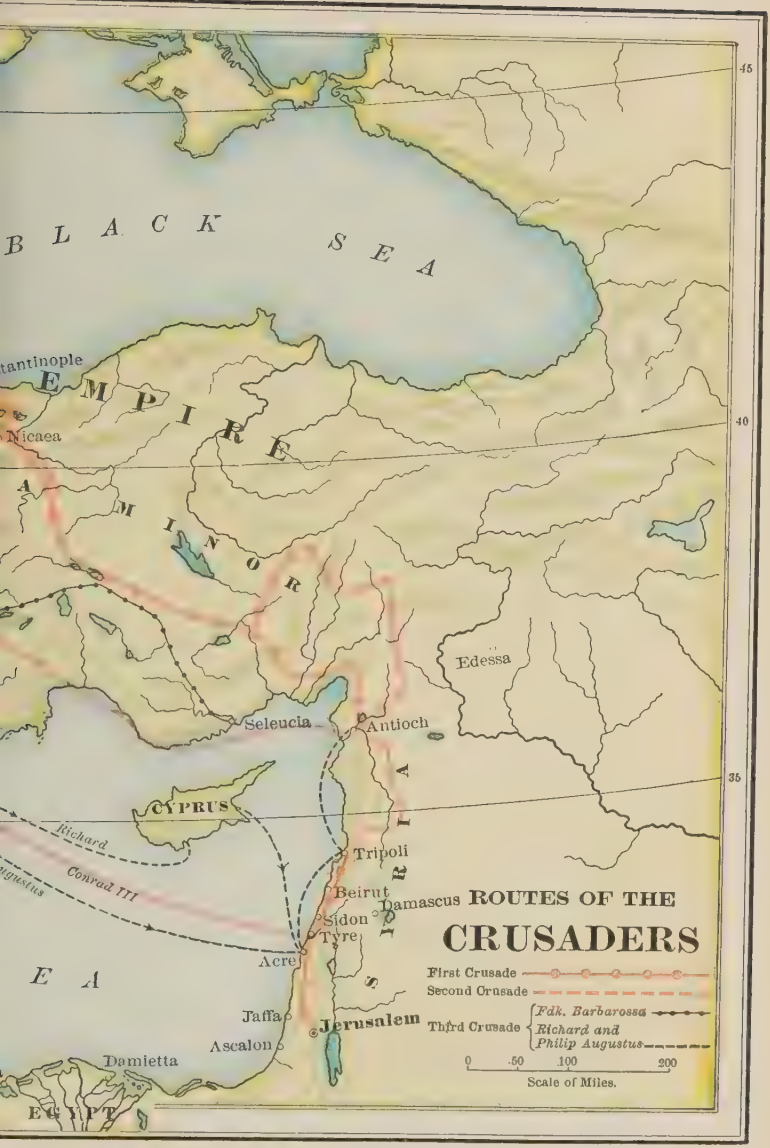
Hostilities between the Greeks and the crusaders

Upon the arrival of the crusaders at Constantinople it quickly became clear that they had not much more in common with the "Greeks"[2] than with the Turks. Emperor Alexius ordered

[1] For the routes taken by the different crusading armies, see the accompanying map.

[2] The people of the Eastern Empire were called Greeks because the Greek language continued to be used in Constantinople.

Venice
HUNGARY
Danube
Godfrey of Bouillon
Peter
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
Raymond of Toulouse
BULGARIA
APULIA
Fdk. Barbarossa
MACEDONIA
Naples
Bari
North French
Durazzo
Brindisi
Normans
EPIRUS
EASTERN
Thessalonica
CALABRIA
Otranto
Richard
Philip Augustus
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
Reggio
HELLAS
SICILY
MALTA
Richard and Philip Augustus – 1191
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN
45
40
35
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.


BLACK SEA
EMPIRE
Nicaea
MINOR
Edessa
Seleucia
Antioch
CYPRUS
Richard
Conrad III
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Damietta
EGYPT
45
40
35
ROUTES OF THE
CRUSADERS
First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
Fdk. Barbarossa
Richard and
Philip Augustus
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles.

his soldiers to attack Godfrey's army, encamped in the suburbs of his capital, because their chief at first refused to take the oath of feudal homage to him. The emperor's daughter Anna, in her history of the times, gives a sad picture of the outrageous conduct of the crusaders. They, on the other hand, denounced the Greeks as traitors, cowards, and liars.

The eastern emperor had hoped to use his western allies to reconquer Asia Minor and force back the Turks. The leading knights, on the contrary, dreamed of carving out principalities for themselves in the former dominions of the emperor, and proposed to control them by right of conquest. Later we find both Greeks and western Christians shamelessly allying themselves with the Mohammedans against each other. The relations of the eastern and western enemies of the Turks were well illustrated when the crusaders besieged their first town, Nicæa. When it was just ready to surrender, the Greeks arranged with the enemy to have their troops admitted first. They then closed the gates against their western confederates and invited them to move on.

FIG. 46. KNIGHT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

In the time of the Crusades knights wore a coat of interwoven iron rings, called a hauberk, to protect themselves. The habit of using the rigid iron plates, of which later armor was constructed, did not come in until the Crusades were over

Dissension among the leaders of the crusaders

The first real allies that the crusaders met with were the Christian Armenians, who gave them aid after their terrible march through Asia Minor. With their help Baldwin got possession of Edessa, of which he made himself prince. The chiefs induced the great body of the crusaders to postpone the march on Jerusalem, and a year was spent in taking the

rich and important city of Antioch. A bitter strife then broke out, especially between the Norman Bohemond and the count of Toulouse, as to who should have the conquered town. After the most unworthy conduct on both sides, Bohemond won, and Raymond was forced to set to work to conquer another principality for himself on the coast about Tripoli.

MAP OF THE CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA

In the spring of 1099 about twenty thousand warriors were at last able to move upon Jerusalem. They found the city well walled, in the midst of a desolate region where neither food nor water nor the materials to construct the apparatus necessary for the capture of the town were to be found. However, the opportune arrival at Jaffa of galleys from Genoa furnished the besiegers with supplies, and, in spite of all the difficulties, the place was taken in a couple of months. The crusaders, with shocking barbarity, massacred the inhabitants. Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen ruler of Jerusalem and took the modest title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." He soon

died and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who left Edessa in 1100 to take up the task of extending the bounds of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Founding of Latin kingdoms in Syria

It will be observed that the "Franks," as the Mohammedans called all the western folk, had established the centers of four principalities. These were Edessa, Antioch, the region about Tripoli conquered by Raymond, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. The last was speedily increased by Baldwin; with the help of the mariners from Venice and Genoa, he succeeded in getting possession of Acre, Sidon, and a number of other less important coast towns.

The news of these Christian victories quickly reached the West, and in 1101 tens of thousands of new crusaders started eastward. Most of them were lost or dispersed in passing through Asia Minor, and few reached their destination. The original conquerors were consequently left to hold the land against the Saracens and to organize their conquests as best they could. This was a very difficult task — too difficult to accomplish under the circumstances.

The permanent hold of the Franks upon the eastern borders of the Mediterranean depended upon the strength of the colonies which their various princes were able to establish. It is impossible to learn how many pilgrims from the West made their permanent homes in the new Latin principalities. Certainly the greater part of those who visited Palestine returned home after fulfilling the vow they had made — to kneel at the Holy Sepulcher.

Still the princes could rely upon a certain number of soldiers who would be willing to stay and fight the Mohammedans. The Turks, moreover, were so busy fighting one another that they showed less energy than might have been expected in attempting to drive the Franks from the narrow strip of territory — some five hundred miles long and fifty wide — which they had conquered. The map on the opposite page shows the extent of situation of the crusaders' states.

The Religious Orders of the Hospitalers and Templars

Military religious orders

35. A noteworthy outcome of the crusading movement was the foundation of several curious orders, of which the Hospitalers and the Templars were the most important. These orders combined the two dominant interests of the time, those of the monk and of the soldier. They permitted a man to be both at once; the knight might wear a monkish cowl over his coat of armor.

Fig. 47. Costume of the Hospitalers

The Hospitaler here represented bears the peculiar Maltese cross on his bosom. His crucifix indicates his religious character, but his sword and the armor which he wears beneath his long gown enabled him to fight as well as pray and succor the wounded

The Hospitalers grew out of a monastic association that was formed before the First Crusade for the succor of the poor and sick among the pilgrims. Later the society admitted noble knights to its membership and became a military order, at the same time continuing its care for the sick. This charitable association, like the earlier monasteries, received generous gifts of land in western Europe and built and controlled many fortified monasteries in the Holy Land itself. After the evacuation of Syria in the thirteenth century, the Hospitalers moved their headquarters to the island of Rhodes, and later to Malta. The order still exists, and it is considered a distinction to this day to have the privilege of wearing its emblem, the cross of Malta.

Before the Hospitalers were transformed into a military order, a little group of French knights banded together in 1119

The Templars

to defend pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem from the attacks of the infidel. They were assigned quarters in the king's palace at Jerusalem, on the site of the former Temple of Solomon; hence the name "Templars," which they were destined to render famous. The "poor soldiers of the Temple" were enthusiastically approved by the Church. They wore a white cloak adorned with a red cross, and were under a very strict monastic rule which bound them by the vows of obedience, poverty, and celibacy. The fame of the order spread throughout Europe, and the most exalted, even dukes and princes, were ready to renounce the world and serve Christ under its black and white banner, with the legend *Non nobis, Domine.*

The order was aristocratic from the first, and it soon became incredibly rich and independent. It had its collectors in all parts of Europe, who dispatched the "alms" they received to the Grand Master at Jerusalem. Towns, churches, and estates were given to the order, as well as vast sums of money. The king of Aragon proposed to bestow upon it a third of his kingdom. The pope showered privileges upon the Templars. They were exempted from tithes and taxes and were brought under his immediate jurisdiction; they were released from feudal obligations, and bishops were forbidden to excommunicate them for any cause.

Abolition of the order of Templars

No wonder they grew insolent and aroused the jealousy and hate of princes and prelates alike. Even Innocent III violently upbraided them for admitting to their order wicked men who then enjoyed all the privileges of churchmen. Early in the fourteenth century, through the combined efforts of the pope and Philip the Fair of France, the order was brought to a terrible end. Its members were accused of the most abominable practices, — such as heresy, the worship of idols, and the systematic insulting of Christ and his religion. Many distinguished Templars were burned for heresy; others perished miserably in dungeons. The once powerful order was abolished and its property confiscated.

The Second and Later Crusades

The Second Crusade

36. Fifty years after the preaching of the First Crusade, the fall of Edessa (1144), an important outpost of the Christians in the East, led to a second great expedition. This was forwarded by no less a person than St. Bernard, who went about using his unrivaled eloquence to induce volunteers to take the cross.

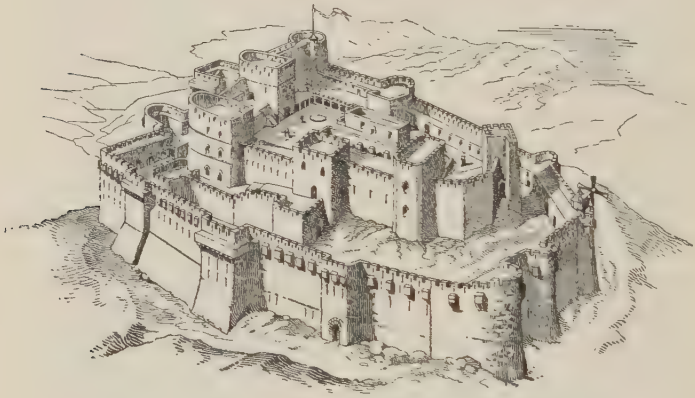


Fig. 48. Krak des Chevaliers, restored

This is an example of the strong castles that the crusaders built in Syria. It was completed in the form here represented about the year 1200 and lies halfway between Antioch and Damascus. It will be noticed that there was a fortress within a fortress. The castle is now in ruins (see headpiece of this chapter)

In a fierce hymn of battle he cried to the Knights Templars: "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, the more sure if he himself be slain. The Christian glories in the death of the infidel, because Christ is glorified." The king of France readily consented to take the cross, but the emperor, Conrad III, appears to have yielded only after St. Bernard had preached before him and given a vivid picture of the terrors of the Judgment Day.

In regard to the less distinguished recruits, a historian of the time tells us that so many thieves and robbers hastened to take the cross that every one felt that such enthusiasm could only be the work of God himself. St. Bernard himself, the chief promoter of the expedition, gives a most unflattering description of the "soldiers of Christ." "In that countless multitude you will find few except the utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides, and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there." It is unnecessary to describe the movements and fate of these crusaders; suffice it to say that, from a military standpoint, the so-called Second Crusade was a miserable failure.

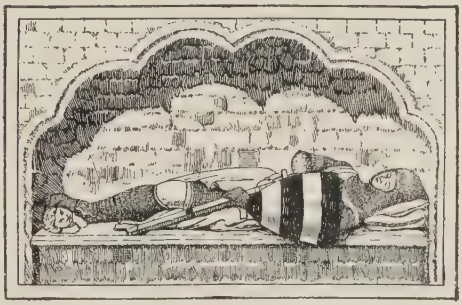


FIG. 49. TOMB OF A CRUSADER

The churches of England, France, and Germany contain numerous figures in stone and brass of crusading knights, reposing in full armor with shield and sword on their tombs

In the year 1187, forty years later, Jerusalem was recaptured by Saladin, the most heroic and distinguished of all the Mohammedan rulers of that period. The loss of the Holy City led to the most famous of all the military expeditions to the Holy Land, in which Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, and his political rival, Philip Augustus of France, all took part (see above, p. 123). The accounts of the enterprise show that while the several Christian leaders hated one another heartily enough, the Christians and Mohammedans were coming to respect one another. We find examples of the most courtly

relations between the representatives of the opposing religions. In 1192 Richard concluded a truce with Saladin, by the terms of which the Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the holy places in safety and comfort.

The Fourth and subsequent Crusades

In the thirteenth century the crusaders began to direct their expeditions toward Egypt as the center of the Mohammedan power. The first of these was diverted in an extraordinary manner by the Venetians, who induced the crusaders to conquer Constantinople for their benefit. The further expeditions of Frederick II (see above, p. 163) and St. Louis need not be described. Jerusalem was irrevocably lost in 1244, and although the possibility of recovering the city was long considered, the Crusades may be said to have come to a close before the end of the thirteenth century.

Chief Results of the Crusades

Settlements of the Italian merchants

37. For one class at least, the Holy Land had great and permanent charms, namely, the Italian merchants, especially those from Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. It was through their early interest and by means of supplies from their ships, that the conquest of the Holy Land had been rendered possible. The merchants always made sure that they were well paid for their services. When they aided in the successful siege of a town they arranged that a definite quarter should be assigned to them in the captured place, where they might have their market, docks, church, and all that was necessary for a permanent center for their commerce. This district belonged to the town from which the merchants came. Venice even sent governors to live in the quarters assigned to its citizens in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Marseilles also had independent quarters in Jerusalem, and Genoa had its share in the county of Tripoli.

Oriental luxury introduced into Europe

This new commerce had a most important influence in bringing the West into permanent relations with the Orient. Eastern products from India and elsewhere — silks, spices, camphor,

musk, pearls, and ivory — were brought by the Mohammedans from the East to the commercial towns of Palestine and Syria; then, through the Italian merchants, they found their way into France and Germany, suggesting ideas of luxury hitherto scarcely dreamed of by the still half-barbarous Franks.

Effects of Crusades on warfare

Moreover, the Crusades had a great effect upon the methods of warfare, for the soldiers from the West learned from the Greeks about the old Roman methods of constructing machines for attacking castles and walled towns. This led, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter, to the construction in western Europe of stone castles, first with square towers and later with round ones, the remains of which are so common in Germany, France, and England. The Crusades also produced heraldry, or the science of coats of arms. These were the badges that single knights or groups of knights adopted in order to distinguish themselves from other people. Some of the terms used in heraldry, such as *gules* for red, and *azur* for blue, are of Arabic origin.

Results of the Crusades

Some of the results of the Crusades upon western Europe must already be obvious, even from this very brief account. Thousands and thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen had traveled to the Orient by land and by sea. Most of them came from hamlets or castles where they could never have learned much of the great world beyond the confines of their native village or province. They suddenly found themselves in great cities and in the midst of unfamiliar peoples and customs. This could not fail to make them think and give them new ideas to carry home. The Crusade took the place of a liberal education. The crusaders came into contact with those who knew more than they did, above all the Arabs, and brought back with them new notions of comfort and luxury.

Yet in attempting to estimate the debt of the West to the Crusades it should be remembered that many of the new things may well have come from Constantinople, or through the Mohammedans of Sicily and Spain, quite independently of the

armed incursions into Syria. Moreover, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries towns were rapidly growing up in Europe, trade and manufactures were extending, and the universities were being founded. It would be absurd to suppose that without the Crusades this progress would not have taken place. So we may conclude that the distant expeditions and the contact with strange and more highly civilized peoples did no more than hasten the improvement which was already perceptible before Urban made his ever-memorable address at Clermont.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 33. What led to the Crusades? Describe Urban's speech. What was the character of Peter the Hermit's expedition?

SECTION 34. Who were the leaders of the First Crusade? Describe the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders.

SECTION 35. Who were the Hospitalers? What was the order of the Temple and what became of the Templars?

SECTION 36. What was the Second Crusade? Give some particulars in regard to the Third Crusade and its leaders.

SECTION 37. Give as complete an account as you can of the chief results of the Crusades.

CHAPTER X

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AT ITS HEIGHT

Organization and Powers of the Church

38. In the preceding pages it has been necessary to refer constantly to the Church and the clergy. Indeed, without them medieval history would become almost a blank, for the Church was incomparably the most important institution of the time, and its officers were the soul of nearly every great enterprise. We have already learned something of the rise of the Church and of its head, the pope, as well as the mode of life and the work of the monks as they spread over Europe. We have also watched the long struggle between the emperors and the popes in which the emperors were finally worsted. We must now consider the Medieval Church as a completed institution at the height of its power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Ways in which the Medieval Church differed from modern churches

We have already had abundant proofs that the Medieval Church was very different from our modern churches, whether Catholic or Protestant.

Membership in the Medieval Church compulsory

1. In the first place, every one was required to belong to it, just as we all must belong to some country to-day. One was not born into the Church, it is true, but he was ordinarily baptized into it when he was a mere infant. All western Europe formed a single religious association, from which it was a crime to revolt. To refuse allegiance to the Church, or to question its authority or teachings, was regarded as treason against God and was punishable with death.

The wealth of the Church

2. The Medieval Church did not rely for its support, as churches usually must to-day, upon the voluntary contributions of its members. It enjoyed, in addition to the revenue from its vast tracts of lands and a great variety of fees, the income from

The tithe

a regular tax, the *tithe*. Those upon whom this fell were forced to pay it, just as we all must now pay taxes imposed by the government.

Resemblance of the Church to a State

3. It is clear, moreover, that the Medieval Church was not merely a religious body, as churches are to-day. Of course it maintained places of worship, conducted devotional exercises, and cultivated the religious life; but it did far more. It was, in a way, a *State*, for it had an elaborate system of law, and its own courts, in which it tried many cases which are now settled in our ordinary courts.[1] One may get some idea of the business of the Church courts from the fact that the Church claimed the right to try all cases in which a clergyman was involved, or any one connected with the Church or under its special protection, such as monks, students, crusaders, widows, orphans, and the helpless. Then all cases where the rites of the Church, or its prohibitions, were involved came ordinarily before the Church courts, as, for example, those concerning marriage, wills, sworn

[1] The law of the Church was known as the *canon law*. It was taught in most of the universities and practiced by a great number of lawyers. It was based upon the "canons," or rules, enacted by the various Church councils, from that of Nicæa down, and, above all, upon the decrees and decisions of the popes.

contracts, usury, blasphemy, sorcery, heresy, and so forth. The Church even had its prisons, to which it might sentence offenders for life.

Unity of organization in the Church

4. The Church not only performed the functions of a State; it had the organization of a State. Unlike the Protestant ministers of to-day, all churchmen and religious associations of medieval Europe were under one supreme head, the pope, who made laws for all and controlled every Church officer, wherever he might be, whether in Italy or Germany, Spain or Ireland. The whole Church had one official language, Latin, in which all communications were written and in which its services were everywhere conducted.

The Medieval Church a monarchy in its form of government

The Medieval Church may therefore properly be called a monarchy in its government. The pope was its all-powerful and absolute head. He was the supreme lawgiver. He might set aside or repeal any law of the Church, no matter how ancient, so long as he did not believe it to be ordained by the Scriptures or by Nature. He might, for good reasons, make exceptions to all merely human laws; as, for instance, permit cousins to marry, or free a monk from his vows. Such exceptions were known as *dispensations*.

Dispensations

The pope the supreme judge of Christendom

The pope was not merely the supreme lawgiver; he was the supreme judge. Any one, whether clergyman or layman, in any part of Europe could appeal to him at any stage in the trial of a large class of cases. Obviously this system had serious drawbacks. Grave injustice might be done by carrying to Rome a case which ought to have been settled in Edinburgh or Cologne, where the facts were best known. The rich, moreover, always had the advantage, as they alone could afford to bring suits before so distant a court.

The control of the pope over all parts of the Christian Church was exercised by his *legates*. These papal ambassadors were intrusted with great powers. Their haughty mien sometimes offended the prelates and rulers to whom they brought home the authority of the pope, — as, for instance, when the legate

Pandulf grandly absolved all the subjects of King John of England, before his very face, from their oath of fealty to him (see p. 125, above).

The Roman *curia*

The task assumed by the pope of governing the whole western world naturally made it necessary to create a large body of officials at Rome in order to transact all the multiform business and prepare and transmit the innumerable legal documents.[1] The cardinals and the pope's officials constituted what was called the papal *curia*, or court.

Sources of the pope's income

To carry on his government and meet the expenses of palace and retinue, the pope had need of a vast income. This he secured from various sources. Heavy fees were exacted from those who brought suits to his court for decision. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots were expected to make generous contributions when the pope confirmed their election. In the thirteenth century the pope himself began to fill many benefices throughout Europe, and customarily received half the first year's revenues from those whom he appointed. For several centuries before the Protestants finally threw off their allegiance to the popes, there was widespread complaint on the part of both clergy and laymen that the fees and taxes levied by the *curia* were excessive.

The archbishops

Next in order below the head of the Church were the archbishops and bishops. An archbishop was a bishop whose power extended beyond the boundaries of his own diocese and who exercised a certain control over all the bishops within his province.

The importance of the bishops

There is perhaps no class of persons in medieval times whose position it is so necessary to understand as that of the bishops. They were regarded as the successors of the apostles, whose powers were held to be divinely transmitted to them. They represented the Church Universal in their respective dioceses, under the supreme headship of their "elder brother," the

[1] Many of the edicts, decisions, and orders of the popes were called *bulls*, from the seal (Latin, *bulla*) attached to them.

bishop of Rome, the successor of the chief of the apostles. Their insignia of office, the miter and crosier, are familiar to every one.[1] Each bishop had his especial church, which was called a cathedral, and usually surpassed the other churches of the diocese in size and beauty.

FIG. 50. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The bishop's church was called a cathedral, because in it stood the bishop's chair, or throne (Latin, *cathedra*). It was therefore much more imposing ordinarily than the parish churches, although sometimes the abbey churches belonging to rich monasteries vied with the bishop's church in beauty (see below, section 44)

The bishop's temporal duties

In addition to the oversight of his diocese, it was the bishop's business to look after the lands and other possessions which belonged to the bishopric. Lastly, the bishop was usually a feudal lord, with the obligations which that implied. He might have vassals and subvassals, and often was himself a vassal, not only of the king but also of some neighboring lord.

[1] The headpiece of this chapter represents an English bishop ordaining a priest and is taken from a manuscript of Henry II's time. The bishop is wearing his miter and holds his pastoral staff, the crosier, in his left hand while he raises his right, in blessing, over the priest's head.

The parish priest and his duties

The lowest division of the Church was the parish. At the head of the parish was the parish priest, who conducted services in the parish church and absolved, baptized, married, and buried his parishioners. The priests were supposed to be supported by the lands belonging to the parish church and by the tithes. But both of these sources of income were often in the hands of laymen or of a neighboring monastery, while the poor priest received the merest pittance, scarcely sufficient to keep soul and body together.

The exalted position of the clergy

The clergy were set apart from the laity in several ways. The higher orders — bishop, priest, deacon, and subdeacon — were required to remain unmarried, and in this way were freed from the cares and interests of family life. The Church held, moreover, that the higher clergy, when they had been properly ordained, received through their ordination a mysterious imprint, the "indelible character," so that they could never become simple laymen again, even if they ceased to perform their duties altogether. Above all, the clergy alone could administer the *sacraments* upon which the salvation of every individual soul depended.

Nature of penance

The punishment for sin imposed by the priest was called *penance*. This took a great variety of forms. It might consist in fasting, repeating prayers, visiting holy places, or abstaining from one's ordinary amusements. A journey to the Holy Land was regarded as taking the place of all other penance. Instead, however, of requiring the penitent actually to perform the fasts, pilgrimages, or other sacrifices imposed as penance by the priest, the Church early began to permit him to change his penance into a contribution, to be applied to some pious enterprise, like building a church or bridge, or caring for the poor and sick.

Only clergymen ordinarily knew how to read and write

The influence of the clergy was greatly increased by the fact that they alone were educated. For six or seven centuries after the overthrow of the Roman government in the west, very few outside of the clergy ever dreamed of studying, or even of learning to read and write. Even in the thirteenth century an offender

who wished to prove that he belonged to the clergy, in order that he might be tried by a Church court, had only to show that he could read a single line; for it was assumed by the judges that no one unconnected with the Church could read at all.

It was therefore inevitable that all the teachers were clergymen, that almost all the books were written by priests and monks, and that the clergy was the ruling power in all intellectual, artistic, and literary matters — the chief guardians and promoters of civilization. Moreover, the civil government was forced to rely upon churchmen to write out the public documents and proclamations. The priests and monks held the pen for the king. Representatives of the clergy sat in the king's councils and acted as his ministers; in fact, the conduct of the government largely devolved upon them.

Offices in the Church open to all classes

The offices in the Church were open to all ranks of men, and many of the popes themselves sprang from the humblest classes. The Church thus constantly recruited its ranks with fresh blood. No one held an office simply because his father had held it before him, as was the case in the civil government.

Excommunication and interdict

No wonder that the churchmen were by far the most powerful class in the Middle Ages. They controlled great wealth; they alone were educated; they held the keys of the kingdom of heaven and without their aid no one could hope to enter in. By excommunication they could cast out the enemies of the Church and could forbid all men to associate with them, since they were accursed. By means of the *interdict* they could suspend all religious ceremonies in a whole city or country by closing the church doors and prohibiting all public services.

The Heretics and the Inquisition

Rebels against the Church

39. Nevertheless, in spite of the power and wonderful organization of the Church, a few people began to revolt against it as early as the time of Gregory VII; and the number of these rebels continued to increase as time went on. Popular leaders

arose who declared that no one ought any longer to rely upon the Church for his salvation; that all its elaborate ceremonies were worse than useless; that its Masses, holy water, and relics were mere money-getting devices of a sinful priesthood and helped no one to heaven.

Heresy

Those who questioned the teachings of the Church and proposed to cast off its authority were, according to the accepted view of the time, guilty of the supreme crime of heresy. Heretics were of two sorts. One class merely rejected the practices and some of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church while they remained Christians and endeavored to imitate as nearly as possible the simple life of Christ and the apostles.

The Waldensians

Among those who continued to accept the Christian faith but refused to obey the clergy, the most important sect was that of the Waldensians, which took its rise about 1175. These were followers of Peter Waldo of Lyons, who gave up all their property and lived a life of apostolic poverty. They went about preaching the Gospel and explaining the Scriptures, which they translated from Latin into the language of the people. They made many converts, and before the end of the twelfth century there were great numbers of them scattered throughout western Europe.

The Albigensians

On the other hand, there were popular leaders who taught that the Christian religion itself was false. They held that there were two principles in the universe, the good and the evil, which were forever fighting for the victory. They asserted that the Jehovah of the Old Testament was really the evil power, and that it was, therefore, the evil power whom the Catholic Church worshiped. These heretics were commonly called Albigensians, a name derived from the town of Albi in southern France, where they were very numerous.

It is very difficult for us who live in a tolerant age to understand the universal and deep-rooted horror of heresy which long prevailed in Europe. But we must recollect that to the orthodox

believer in the Church nothing could exceed the guilt of one who committed treason against God by rejecting the religion which had been handed down in the Roman Church from the immediate followers of his Son. Moreover, doubt and unbelief were not merely sin; they were revolt against the most powerful social institution of the time, which, in spite of the sins of some of its officials, continued to be venerated by people at large throughout western Europe. The story of the Albigensians and Waldensians, and the efforts of the Church to suppress them by persuasion, by fire and sword, and by the stern court of the Inquisition, form a strange and terrible chapter in medieval history.

In southern France there were many adherents of both the Albigensians and the Waldensians, especially in the county of Toulouse. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was in this region an open contempt for the Church, and bold heretical teachings were heard even among the higher classes.

Albigensian crusade

Against the people of this flourishing land Innocent III preached a crusade in 1208. An army marched from northern France into the doomed region and, after one of the most atrocious and bloody wars upon record, suppressed the heresy by wholesale slaughter. At the same time, the war checked the civilization and destroyed the prosperity of the most enlightened portion of France.

The Inquisition

The most permanent defense of the Church against heresy was the establishment, under the headship of the pope, of a system of courts designed to ferret out secret cases of unbelief and bring the offenders to punishment. These courts which devoted their whole attention to the discovery and conviction of heretics were called the Holy Inquisition, which gradually took form after the Albigensian crusade. The unfairness of the trials and the cruel treatment to which those suspected of heresy were subjected, through long imprisonment or torture, — inflicted with the hope of forcing them to confess their crime or to implicate others, — have rendered the name of the Inquisition infamous.

Without by any means attempting to defend the methods employed, it may be remarked that the inquisitors were often earnest and upright men, and the methods of procedure of the Inquisition were not more cruel than those used in the secular courts of the period.

The assertion of the suspected person that he was not a heretic did not receive any attention, for it was assumed that he would naturally deny his guilt, as would any other criminal. A person's belief had, therefore, to be judged by outward acts. Consequently one might fall into the hands of the Inquisition by mere accidental conversation with a heretic, by some unintentional neglect to show due respect toward the Church rites, or by the malicious testimony of one's neighbors. This is really the most terrible aspect of the Inquisition and its procedure.

Fate of the convicted heretic

If the suspected person confessed his guilt and abjured his heresy, he was forgiven and received back into the Church; but a penance of life imprisonment was imposed upon him as a fitting means of wiping away the unspeakable sin of which he had been guilty. If he persisted in his heresy, he was "relaxed to the secular arm"; that is to say, the Church, whose law forbade it to shed blood, handed over the convicted person to the civil power, which burned him alive without further trial.

The Franciscans and Dominicans

Founding of the mendicant orders

40. We may now turn to that far more cheerful and effective method of meeting the opponents of the Church, which may be said to have been discovered by St. Francis of Assisi. His teachings and the example of his beautiful life probably did far more to secure continued allegiance to the Church than all the harsh devices of the Inquisition.

We have seen how the Waldensians tried to better the world by living simple lives and preaching the Gospel. Owing to the disfavor of the Church authorities, who declared their teachings erroneous and dangerous, they were prevented from

publicly carrying on their missionary work. Yet all conscientious men agreed with the Waldensians that the world was in a sad plight, owing to the negligence and the misdeeds of the clergy. St. Francis and St. Dominic strove to meet the needs of their time by inventing a new kind of clergyman, the begging brother, or "mendicant friar" (from the Latin *frater*, "brother"). He was to do just what the bishops and parish priests often failed to do — namely, lead a holy life of self-sacrifice, defend the Church's beliefs against the attacks of the heretics, and awaken the people to a new religious life. The founding of the mendicant orders is one of the most interesting events of the Middle Ages.

St. Francis of Assisi, 1182–1226

There is no more lovely and fascinating figure in all history than St. Francis. He was born (probably in 1182) at Assisi, a little town in central Italy. He was the son of a well-to-do merchant, and during his early youth he lived a very gay life, spending his father's money freely. He read the French romances of the time and dreamed of imitating the brave knights whose adventures they described. Although his companions were wild and reckless, there was a delicacy and chivalry in Francis's own make-up which made him hate all things coarse and heartless. When later he voluntarily became a beggar, his ragged cloak still covered a true poet and knight.

Francis forsakes his life of luxury and his inheritance and becomes a hermit

The contrast between his own life of luxury and the sad state of the poor early afflicted him. When he was about twenty, after a long and serious illness which made a break in his gay life and gave him time to think, he suddenly lost his love for the old pleasures and began to consort with the destitute, above all with lepers. His father does not appear to have had any fondness whatever for beggars, and the relations between him and his son grew more and more strained. When finally he threatened to disinherit the young man, Francis cheerfully agreed to surrender all right to his inheritance. Stripping off his clothes and giving them back to his father, he accepted the worn-out garment of a gardener and became a homeless hermit, busying himself in repairing the dilapidated chapels near Assisi.

Francis begins to preach and to attract followers

He soon began to preach in a simple way, and before long a rich fellow townsman resolved to follow Francis's example—sell his all and give to the poor. Others soon joined them, and these joyous converts, free of worldly burdens, went barefoot and penniless about central Italy preaching the Gospel instead of shutting themselves up in a monastery.

Seeks and obtains the approval of the pope

When, with a dozen followers, Francis appealed to the pope in 1210 for his approval, Innocent III hesitated. He did not believe that any one could lead a life of absolute poverty. Then might not these ragged, ill-kempt vagabonds appear to condemn the Church by adopting a life so different from that of the rich and comfortable clergy? Yet if he disapproved the friars, he would seem to disapprove at the same time Christ's directions to his apostles. He finally decided to authorize the brethren to continue their missions.

Missionary work undertaken

Seven years later, when Francis's followers had greatly increased in numbers, missionary work was begun on a large scale, and brethren were dispatched to Germany, Hungary, France, Spain, and even to Syria. It was not long before an English chronicler was telling with wonder of the arrival in his country of these barefoot men, in their patched gowns and with ropes about their waists, who, with Christian faith, took no thought for the morrow, believing that their Heavenly Father knew what things they had need of.

Francis did not desire to found a powerful order

As time went on, the success of their missionary work led the pope to bestow many privileges upon them. It grieved Francis, however, to think of his little band of companions being converted into a great and powerful order. He foresaw that they would soon cease to lead their simple, holy life, and would become ambitious and perhaps rich. "I, little Brother Francis," he writes, "desire to follow the life and the poverty of Jesus Christ, persevering therein until the end; and I beg you all and exhort you to persevere always in this most holy life of poverty, and take good care never to depart from it upon the advice and teachings of anyone whomsoever."

After the death of St. Francis (1226) many of the order, which now numbered several thousand members, wished to maintain the simple rule of absolute poverty; others, including the new head of the order, believed that much good might be done with the wealth which people were anxious to give them.

Change in the character of the Franciscan order after Francis's death

FIG. 51. CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT ASSISI

Assisi is situated on a high hill, and the monastery of the Franciscans is built out on a promontory. The monastery has *two* churches, one above the other. The lower church, in which are the remains of St. Francis, was begun in 1228 and contains pictures of the life and miracles of the saint. To reach the upper church (completed 1253) one can go up by the stairs, seen to the right of the entrance to the lower church, to the higher level upon which the upper church faces

They argued that the individual friars might still remain absolutely possessionless, even if the order had beautiful churches and comfortable monasteries. So a stately church was immediately constructed at Assisi (Fig. 51) to receive the remains of their humble founder, who in his lifetime had chosen a deserted

hovel for his home; and a great chest was set up in the church to receive the offerings of those who desired to give.

St. Dominic

St. Dominic (b. 1170), the Spanish founder of the other great mendicant order, was not a simple layman like Francis. He was a churchman and took a regular course of instruction in theology for ten years in a Spanish university. He then (1208) accompanied his bishop to southern France on the eve of the Albigensian crusade and was deeply shocked to see the prevalence of heresy. His host at Toulouse happened to be an Albigensian, and Dominic spent the night in converting him. He then and there determined to devote his life to fighting heresy.

Founding of the Dominican order

By 1214 a few sympathetic spirits from various parts of Europe had joined Dominic, and they asked Innocent III to sanction their new order. The pope again hesitated, but is said to have dreamed a dream in which he saw the great Roman Church of the Lateran tottering and ready to fall had not Dominic supported it on his shoulders. He interpreted this as meaning that the new organization might sometime become a great aid to the papacy, and gave it his approval. As soon as possible Dominic sent forth his followers, of whom there were but sixteen, to evangelize the world, just as the Franciscans were undertaking their first missionary journeys. By 1221 the Dominican order was thoroughly organized and had sixty monasteries scattered over western Europe.

"Wandering on foot over the face of Europe, under burning suns or chilling blasts, rejecting alms in money but receiving thankfully whatever coarse food might be set before the wayfarer, enduring hunger in silent resignation, taking no thought for the morrow, but busied eternally in the work of snatching souls from Satan and lifting men up from the sordid cares of daily life"—in this way did the early Franciscans and Dominicans win the love and veneration of the people.

The Dominicans were called the "Preaching Friars" and were carefully trained in theology in order the better to refute the arguments of the heretics. The pope delegated to them

especially the task of conducting the Inquisition. They early began to extend their influence over the universities, and the two most distinguished theologians and teachers of the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, were Dominicans. Among the Franciscans, on the other hand, there was always a considerable party who were suspicious of learning and who showed a greater desire to remain absolutely poor than did the Dominicans. Yet as a whole the Franciscans, like the Dominicans, accepted the wealth that came to them, and they too contributed distinguished scholars to the universities.

Contrast between the Dominicans and the Franciscans

Church and State

41. We have seen that the Medieval Church was a single great institution with its head, the pope, at Rome and its officers in all the countries of western Europe. It had its laws, law courts, taxes, and even prisons, just like the various kings and other rulers. In general, the kings were ready to punish every one who revolted against the Church. Indeed, the State depended upon the churchmen in many ways. It was the churchmen who wrote out the documents which the king required; they took care of the schools, aided the poor, and protected the weak. They tried, by issuing the Truce of God, to discourage neighborhood warfare, which the kings were unable to stop.

The State defended and aided the Church, and the churchmen helped the government

But as the period of disorder drew to an end and the kings and other rulers got the better of the feudal lords and established peace in their realms, they began to think that the Church had become too powerful and too rich. Certain difficulties arose of which the following were the most important:

Chief sources of difficulty between Church and State

1. Should the king or the pope have the advantage of selecting the bishops and the abbots of rich monasteries. Naturally both were anxious to place their friends and supporters in these influential positions. Moreover, the pope could claim a considerable contribution from those whom he appointed, and the king naturally grudged him the money.

Filling Church offices

Taxing of Church property

2. How far might the king venture to tax the lands and other property of the Church? Was this vast amount of wealth to go on increasing and yet make no contribution to the support of the government? The churchmen usually maintained that they needed all their money to carry on the Church services, keep up the churches and monasteries, take care of the schools and aid the poor, for the State left them to bear all these necessary burdens. The law of the Church permitted the churchmen to make voluntary gifts to the king when there was urgent necessity.

Church courts

3. Then there was trouble over the cases to be tried in the Church courts and the claim of churchmen to be tried only by clergymen. Worst of all was the habit of appealing cases to Rome, for the pope would often decide the matter in exactly the opposite way from which the king's court had decided it.

Right of pope to interfere in government

4. Lastly there was the question of how far the pope as head of the Christian Church had a right to interfere with the government of a particular state, when he did not approve of the way in which a king was acting. The powers of the pope were very great, every one admitted, but even the most devout Catholics differed somewhat as to just how great they were.

We have seen some illustrations of these troubles in the chapter on the Popes and Emperors. A famous conflict between the king of France, Philip the Fair, and Pope Boniface VIII, about the year 1300, had important results. Philip and Edward I of England, who were reigning at the same time, had got into the habit of taxing the churchmen as they did their other subjects.

Edward I and Philip the Fair attempt to tax the clergy

It was natural after a monarch had squeezed all that he could out of the Jews and the towns, and had exacted every possible feudal due, that he should turn to the rich estates of the clergy, in spite of their claim that their property was dedicated to God and owed the king nothing. The extensive enterprises of Edward I (see pp. 128 *sqq.*, above) led him in 1296 to demand one fifth of the personal property of the clergy. Philip the Fair exacted one hundredth and then one fiftieth of the possessions of clergy and laity alike.

Against this impartial system Boniface protested in the famous bull, *Clericis laicos* (1296). He claimed that the laity had always been exceedingly hostile to the clergy, and that the rulers were now exhibiting this hostility by imposing heavy burdens upon the Church, forgetting that they had no control over the clergy and their possessions. The pope, therefore, forbade all churchmen, including the monks, to pay, without his consent, to a king or ruler any part of the Church's revenue or possessions upon any pretext whatsoever. He likewise forbade the kings and princes under pain of excommunication to presume to exact any such payments.

The bull, *Clericis laicos* of Boniface VIII, 1296

It happened that just as the pope was prohibiting the clergy from contributing to the taxes, Philip the Fair had forbidden the exportation of all gold and silver from the country. In that way he cut off an important source of the pope's revenue, for the church of France could obviously no longer send anything to Rome. The pope was forced to give up his extreme claims. He explained the following year that he had not meant to interfere with the payment on the clergy's part of customary feudal dues nor with their loans of money to the king.[1]

Boniface concedes a limited right to tax churchmen

In spite of this setback, the pope never seemed more completely the recognized head of the western world than during the first great jubilee, in the year 1300, when Boniface called together all Christendom to celebrate the opening of the new century by a great religious festival at Rome. It is reported that two millions of people, coming from all parts of Europe, visited the churches of Rome, and that in spite of widening the streets, many were crushed in the crowd. So great was the influx of money into the papal treasury that two assistants were kept busy with rakes collecting the offerings which were deposited at the tomb of St. Peter.

The jubilee of 1300

Boniface was, however, very soon to realize that even if Christendom regarded Rome as its religious center, the nations would not accept him as their political head. When he

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xxi.

dispatched an obnoxious prelate to Philip the Fair, ordering him to free a certain nobleman whom he was holding prisoner, the king declared the harsh language of the papal envoy to be high treason and sent one of his lawyers to the pope to demand that the messenger be punished.

The Estates-General of 1302

Philip was surrounded by a body of lawyers, and it would seem that they, rather than the king, were the real rulers of France. They had, through their study of Roman law, learned to admire the absolute power exercised by the Roman emperor. To them the civil government was supreme, and they urged the king to punish what they regarded as the insolent conduct of the pope. Before taking any action against the head of the Church, Philip called together the Estates-General, including not only the clergy and the nobility but the people of the towns as well. The Estates-General, after hearing a statement of the case from one of Philip's lawyers, agreed to support their monarch.

Nogaret insults Boniface VIII

Nogaret, one of the chief legal advisers of the king, undertook to face the pope. He collected a little troop of soldiers in Italy and marched against Boniface, who was sojourning at Anagni, where his predecessors had excommunicated two emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. As Boniface, in his turn, was preparing solemnly to proclaim the king of France an outcast from the Church, Nogaret penetrated into the papal palace with his soldiers and heaped insults upon the helpless but defiant old man. The townspeople forced Nogaret to leave the next day, but Boniface's spirit was broken and he soon died at Rome.

Death of Boniface 1303

Clement V, 1305–1314, and his subservience to Philip the Fair

King Philip now proposed to have no more trouble with popes. He arranged in 1305 to have the Archbishop of Bordeaux chosen head of the Church, with the understanding that he should transfer the papacy to France. The new pope accordingly summoned the cardinals to meet him at Lyons, where he was crowned under the title of "Clement V." He remained in France during his whole pontificate, moving from one rich abbey to another.

At Philip's command he reluctantly undertook a sort of trial of the deceased Boniface VIII, who was accused by the king's lawyers of all sorts of abominable crimes. Then, to please the king, Clement brought the Templars to trial;[1] the order was abolished, and its possessions in France, for which the king had longed, were confiscated. Obviously it proved very advantageous to the king to have a pope within his realm. Clement V died in 1314.

The popes take up their residence at Avignon

His successors took up their residence in the town of Avignon, just outside the French frontier of those days. There they built a sumptuous palace in which successive popes lived in great splendor for sixty years.

The Babylonian Captivity of the Church

The prolonged exile of the popes from Rome, lasting from 1305 to 1377, is commonly called the Babylonian Captivity[2] of the Church, on account of the woes attributed to it. The popes of this period were for the most part good and earnest men; but they were all Frenchmen, and the proximity of their court to France led to the natural suspicion that they were controlled by the French kings. This, together with their luxurious court, brought them into discredit with the other nations.[3]

The papal taxation

At Avignon the popes were naturally deprived of some of the revenue which they had enjoyed from their Italian possessions when they lived at Rome. This deficiency had to be made up by increased taxation, especially as the expenses of the splendid papal court were very heavy. The papacy was, consequently, rendered unpopular by the methods employed to raise money.

Statute of provisors, 1352

The papal exactions met with the greatest opposition in England because the popes were thought to favor France, with which country the English were at war. A law was passed by Parliament in 1352, ordering that all who procured a Church office from the pope should be outlawed, since they were enemies of the king and his realm. This and similar laws failed,

[1] See above, p. 175.

[2] The name recalled, of course, the long exile of the Jews from their land.

[3] See *Readings*, chap. xxi.

however, to prevent the pope from filling English benefices. The English king was unable to keep the money of his realm

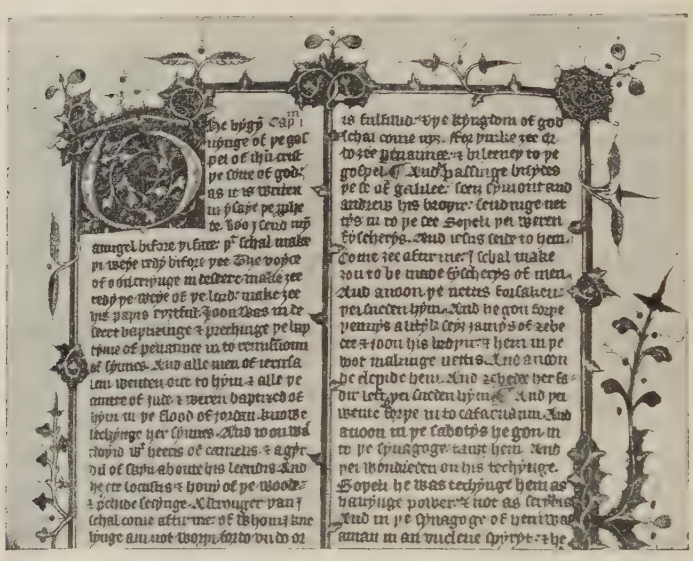


FIG. 52. PAGE FROM WYCLIFFE'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

This is the upper half of the first page of the Gospel according to Mark and contains verses 1–7 and 15–23. The scribe of the time made *i*, *y*, and *th* in something the same way. The page begins: "The bigynninge of the gospel of ihusu crist, the sone of god. As it is writen in isaie, the prophete, Loo, I send myn aungel bifore thi face, that schal make thi weie redi bifore thee. The voice of one crying in deseert, make thee redi the weie of the lord, make thee his pathis ryghtful Joon was in deseert baptizinge and prechinge the baptism of penaunce in to remissioun of sinnes." While the spelling is somewhat different from ours it is clear that the language used by Wycliffe closely resembled that used in the familiar authorized version of the New Testament, made two centuries and a half later

from flowing to Avignon, and at the meeting of the English Parliament held in 1376 a report was made to the effect that the taxes levied by the pope in England were five times those raised by the king.

John Wycliffe

The most famous and conspicuous critic of the pope at this time was John Wycliffe, a teacher at Oxford. He was born about 1320, but we know little of him before 1366, when Urban V demanded that England should pay the tribute promised by King John when he became the pope's vassal.[1] Parliament declared that John had no right to bind the people without their consent, and Wycliffe began his career of opposition to the papacy by trying to prove that John's agreement was void. About ten years later we find the pope issuing bulls against the teachings of Wycliffe, who had begun to assert that the state might appropriate the property of the Church, if it was misused, and that the pope had no authority except as he acted according to the Gospels. Soon Wycliffe went further and boldly attacked the papacy itself, as well as many of the Church institutions.

Wycliffe the father of English prose

Wycliffe's anxiety to teach the people led him to have the Bible translated into English. He also prepared a great number of sermons and tracts in English. He is the father of English prose,[2] for we have little in English before his time, except poetry.

Influence of Wycliffe's teaching

Wycliffe and his "simple priests" were charged with encouraging the discontent and disorder which culminated in the Peasants' War.[3] Whether this charge was true or not, it caused many of his followers to fall away from him. But in spite of this and the denunciations of the Church, Wycliffe was not seriously interfered with and died peaceably in 1384. Wycliffe is remarkable as being the first distinguished scholar and reformer to repudiate the headship of the pope and those practices of the Church of Rome which a hundred and fifty years after his death were attacked by Luther in his successful revolt against the Medieval Church. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

[1] See above, p. 124.

[2] For extracts, see *Readings*, chap. xxi.

[3] See above, pp. 136–137.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 38. In what ways did the Medieval Church differ from the modern churches with which we are familiar? In what ways did the Medieval Church resemble a State? What were the powers of the pope? What were the duties of a bishop in the Middle Ages? Why was the clergy the most powerful class in the Middle Ages?

SECTION 39. What were the views of the Waldensians? of the Albigensians? What was the Inquisition?

SECTION 40. Narrate briefly the life of St. Francis. Did the Franciscan order continue to follow the wishes of its founder? Contrast the Dominicans with the Franciscans.

SECTION 41. What were the chief subjects of disagreement between the Church and the State? Describe the conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair. How did the Babylonian Captivity come about? What were some of the results of the sojourn of the popes at Avignon? What were the views of John Wycliffe?

CHAPTER XI

MEDIEVAL TOWNS — THEIR BUSINESS AND BUILDINGS

The Towns and Guilds

42. In discussing the Middle Ages we have hitherto dealt mainly with kings and emperors, and with the popes and the Church of which they were the chief rulers; we have also described the monks and monasteries, the warlike feudal lords and their castles, and the hard-working serfs who farmed the manors; but nothing has been said about the people who lived in the towns.

Towns the chief centers of progress

Towns have, however, always been the chief centers of progress and enlightenment, for the simple reason that people must live close together in large numbers before they can develop business on a large scale, carry on trade with foreign countries, establish good schools and universities, erect noble public buildings, support libraries and museums and art galleries. One does not find these in the country, for the people outside the towns are too scattered and usually too poor to have the things that are common enough in large cities.

One of the chief peculiarities of the early Middle Ages, from the break-up of the Roman Empire to the time of William the Conqueror, was the absence of large and flourishing towns in western Europe, and this fact alone would serve to explain why there was so little progress.

Unimportance of town life in the early Middle Ages

The Roman towns were decreasing in population before the German inroads. The confusion which followed the invasions hastened their decline, and a great number of them disappeared altogether. Those which survived and such new towns as sprang up were, to judge from the chronicles, of very little importance during the early Middle Ages. We may assume, therefore, that during the long period from Theodoric to Frederick Barbarossa by far the greater part of the population of England, Germany, and northern and central France were living in the country, on the great estates belonging to the feudal lords, abbots, and bishops.[1]

Reappearance of towns in the eleventh century

It is hardly necessary to point out that the gradual reappearance of town life in western Europe is of the greatest interest to the student of history. The cities had been the centers of Greek and Roman civilization, and in our own time they dominate the life, culture, and business enterprise of the world. Were they to disappear, our whole life, even in the country, would necessarily undergo a profound change and tend to become primitive again, like that of the age of Charlemagne.

Origin of the medieval towns

A great part of the medieval towns, of which we begin to have some scanty records about the year 1000, appear to have originated on the manors of feudal lords or about a monastery or castle. The French name for town, *ville*, is derived from "vill," the name of the manor, and we use this old Roman word when we call a town Jackson*ville* or Harris*ville*. The need of protection was probably the usual reason for establishing a town with walls about it, so that the townspeople and the neighboring country people might find safety within it when attacked by neighboring feudal lords (Fig. 53).

Compactness of a medieval town

The way in which a medieval town was built seems to justify this conclusion. It was generally crowded and compact compared with its more luxurious Roman predecessors. Aside from the market place there were few or no open spaces. There

[1] In Italy and southern France town life was doubtless more general than in northern Europe.

were no amphitheaters or public baths as in the Roman cities. The streets were often mere alleys over which the jutting stories of the high houses almost met. The high, thick wall that surrounded it prevented its extending easily and rapidly as our cities do nowadays (see headpiece and Figs. 54, 77).

FIG. 53. A CASTLE WITH A VILLAGE BELOW IT

A village was pretty sure to grow up near the castle of a powerful lord and might gradually become a large town

Townsmen originally serfs

All towns outside of Italy were small in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and, like the manors on which they had grown up, they had little commerce as yet with the outside world. They produced almost all that their inhabitants needed except the farm products which came from the neighboring country. There was likely to be little expansion as long as the

town remained under the absolute control of the lord or monastery upon whose land it was situated. The townspeople were scarcely more than serfs, in spite of the fact that they lived within a wall and were traders and artisans instead of farmers. They had to pay irritating dues to their lord, just as if they still formed a farming community.

Increase of trade promotes the growth of the towns

With the increase of trade (see following section) came the longing for greater freedom. For when new and attractive commodities began to be brought from the East and the South, the people of the towns were encouraged to make things which they could exchange at some neighboring fair for the products of distant lands. But no sooner did the townsmen begin to engage in manufacturing and to enter into relations with the outside world than they became conscious that they were subject to exactions and restrictions which rendered progress impossible.

Consequently, during the twelfth century there were many insurrections of the towns against their lords and a general demand that the lords should grant the townsmen *charters* in which the rights of both parties should be definitely stated.

Town charters

These charters were written contracts between the lord and the town government, which served at once as the certificate of birth of the town and as its constitution. The old dues and services which the townspeople owed as serfs (see above, section 20) were either abolished or changed into money payments.

As a visible sign of their freedom, many of the towns had a belfry, a high building with a watchtower, where a guard was kept day and night in order that the bell might be rung in case of approaching danger.[1] It contained an assembly hall, where those who governed the town held their meetings, and a prison. In the fourteenth century the wonderful town halls began to be erected, which, with the exception of the cathedrals and other churches, are usually the most remarkable buildings which the traveler sees to-day in the old commercial cities of Europe.

[1] At the beginning of this chapter there is a picture of the town of Siegen in Germany, as it formerly looked, with its walls and towers.

FIG. 54. STREET IN QUIMPER, FRANCE

None of the streets in even the oldest European towns look just as they did in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but here and there, as in this town of Brittany, one can still get some idea of the narrow, cramped streets and overhanging houses and the beautiful cathedral crowded in among them

Craft guilds

The tradesmen in the medieval towns were at once manufacturers and merchants; that is, they made, as well as offered for sale, the articles which they kept in their shops. Those who belonged to a particular trade — the bakers, the butchers, the sword makers, the armorers, etc. — formed unions or guilds to protect their special interests. The oldest statutes of a guild in Paris are those of the candle makers, which go back to 1061. The number of trades differed greatly in different towns, but the guilds all had the same object — to prevent any one from practicing a trade who had not been duly admitted to the union.

The guild system

A young man had to spend several years in learning his trade. During this time he lived in the house of a "master workman" as an "apprentice," but received no remuneration. He then became a "journeyman" and could earn wages, although he was still allowed to work only for master workmen and not directly for the public. A simple trade might be learned in three years, but to become a goldsmith one must be an apprentice for ten years. The number of apprentices that a master workman might employ was strictly limited, in order that the journeymen might not become too numerous.

The way in which each trade was to be practiced was carefully regulated, as well as the time that should be spent in work each day. The system of guilds discouraged enterprise but maintained uniform standards everywhere. Had it not been for these unions, the defenseless, isolated workmen, serfs as they had formerly been, would have found it impossible to secure freedom and municipal independence from the feudal lords who had formerly been their masters.

Business in the Later Middle Ages

43. The chief reason for the growth of the towns and their increasing prosperity was a great development of trade throughout western Europe. Commerce had pretty much disappeared with

the decline of the Roman roads and the general disorganization produced by the barbarian invasions. In the early Middle Ages there was no one to mend the ancient Roman roads. The great network of highways from Persia to Britain fell apart when independent nobles or poor local communities took the place of a world empire. All trade languished, for there was little demand for those articles of luxury which the Roman communities in the North had been accustomed to obtain from the South, and there was but little money to buy what we should consider the comforts of life; even the nobility lived uncomfortably enough in their dreary and rudely furnished castles.

Practical disappearance of commerce in the early Middle Ages

In Italy, however, trade does not seem to have altogether ceased. Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, and other towns appear to have developed a considerable Mediterranean commerce even before the Crusades (see map above, p. 160). Their merchants, as we have seen, supplied the destitute crusaders with the material necessary for the conquest of Jerusalem (see above, p. 172). The passion for pilgrimages offered inducements to the Italian merchants for expeditions to the Orient, whither they transported the pilgrims and returned with the products of the East. The Italian cities established trading stations in the East and carried on a direct traffic with the caravans which brought to the shores of the Mediterranean the products of Arabia, Persia, India, and the Spice Islands. The southern French towns and Barcelona entered also into commercial relations with the Mohammedans in northern Africa.

Italian cities trade with the Orient

This progress in the South could not but stir the lethargy of the rest of Europe. When commerce began to revive, it encouraged a revolution in industry. So long as the manor system prevailed and each man was occupied in producing only what he and the other people on the estate needed, there was nothing to send abroad and nothing to exchange for luxuries. But when merchants began to come with tempting articles, the members of a community were encouraged to produce a surplus of goods above what they themselves needed, and to sell or exchange this

Commerce stimulates industry

surplus for commodities coming from a distance. Merchants and artisans gradually directed their energies toward the production of what others wished as well as what was needed by the little group to which they belonged.

The luxuries of the East introduced into Europe

The romances of the twelfth century indicate that the West was astonished and delighted by the luxuries of the East — the rich fabrics, oriental carpets, precious stones, perfumes, drugs, silks, and porcelains from China, spices from India, and cotton from Egypt. Venice introduced the silk industry from the East and the manufacture of those glass articles which the traveler may still buy in the Venetian shops. The West learned how to make silk and velvet as well as light and gauzy cotton and linen fabrics. The Eastern dyes were introduced, and Paris was soon imitating the tapestries of the Saracens. In exchange for those luxuries which they were unable to produce, the Flemish towns sent their woolen cloths to the East, and Italy its wines.

Some of the important commercial centers

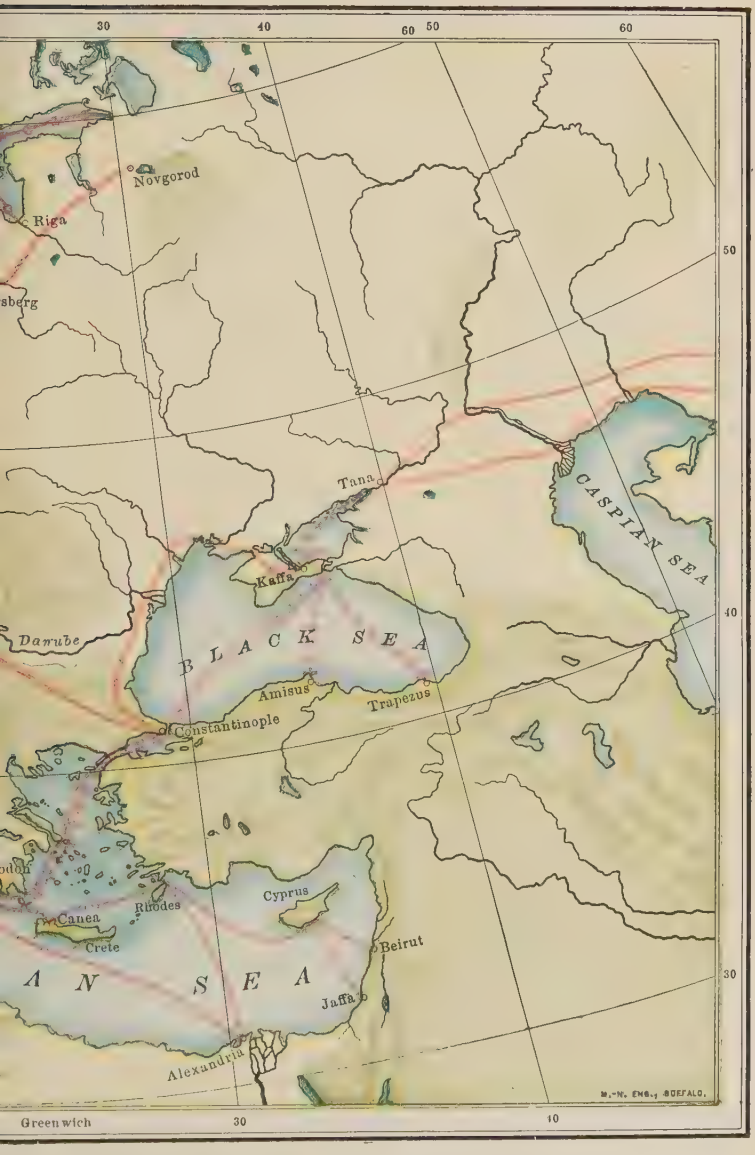
The Northern merchants dealt mainly with Venice and brought their wares across the Brenner Pass and down the Rhine, or sent them by sea to be exchanged in Flanders (see map). By the thirteenth century important centers of trade had come into being, some of which are still among the great commercial towns of the world. Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen carried on active trade with the countries on the Baltic and with England. Augsburg and Nuremberg, in the south of Germany, became important on account of their situation on the line of trade between Italy and the North. Bruges and Ghent sent their manufactures everywhere. English commerce was relatively unimportant as yet compared with that of the great ports of the Mediterranean.

Obstacles to business

It was very difficult indeed to carry on business on a large scale in the Middle Ages, for various reasons. In the first place, as has been said, there was little money, and money is essential to buying and selling, unless people confine themselves merely to exchanging one article for another. There were few gold and silver mines in western Europe and consequently the kings and feudal lords could not supply enough coin. Moreover, the coins

Lack of money

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
M E D I T E R R A
To Iceland
Bergen
Stockholm
Lubec
Hamburg
Bremen
Danzig
Stettin
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Antwerp
Ghent
Boulogne
Cologne
Mayence
Nuremberg
Munich
Augsburg
Basel
Strasbourg
Paris
Seine
Rhine
Orleans
Tours
Chalon
Lyon
Rhone
Brenner Pass
Verona
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Messina
Syracuse
Tunis
Marseille
Narbonne
Barcelona
Bordeaux
Lisbon
Cordova
Granada
Bristol
London
Southampton
Venetian Galleys in the 14th Century
COMMERCIAL TOWNS
AND TRADE ROUTES
of the 13th and 14th Centuries
Land Routes
Water Routes
Venetian
Genoese
Hanse
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles
20 10 60 0 10
50
40
30
0 10
Longitude


30
40
60
50
60
Novgorod
Riga
sberg
50
Tana
CASPIAN SEA
Kaffa
40
Danube
BLACK SEA
Amisus
Trapezus
Constantinople
Cyprus
Rhodes
Canea
Crete
Beirut
A N SEA
Jaffa
30
Alexandria
M.-N. ENG.ı BOEFALO.
Greenwich
30
10

were crude, with such rough, irregular edges (Fig. 55) that many people yielded to the temptation to pare off a little of the precious metal before they passed the money on. "Clipping," as this was called, was harshly punished, but that did not stop the practice, which continued for hundreds of years. Nowadays our coins are perfectly round and often have "milled" edges, so that no one would think of trying to appropriate bits of them as they pass through his hands. "Clipping"

Fig. 55. Medieval Coins

The two upper coins reproduce the face and back of a silver penny of William the Conqueror's reign, and below is a silver groat of Edward III. The same irregularities in outline, it may be noted, are to be observed in Greek and Roman coins

It was universally believed that everything had a "just" price, which was merely enough to cover the cost of the materials used in its manufacture and to remunerate the maker for the work he had put into it. It was considered outrageous to ask more than the just price, no matter how anxious the purchaser might be to obtain the article.

Every manufacturer was required to keep a shop in which he offered at retail all that he made. Those who lived near a town were permitted to sell their products in the market place within the walls on condition that they sold directly to the consumers. They might not dispose of their whole stock to one dealer, for fear that if he had all there was of a commodity he might raise

Difficulties in the way of wholesale trade

the price above the just one. These ideas made wholesale trade very difficult.

Payment of interest on money forbidden

Akin to these prejudices against wholesale business was that against interest. Money was believed to be a dead and sterile thing, and no one had a right to demand any return for lending it. Interest was considered wicked, since it was exacted by those who took advantage of the embarrassments of others. "Usury," as the taking of even the most moderate and reasonable rate of interest was then called, was strenuously forbidden by the laws of the Church. We find church councils ordering that impenitent usurers should be refused Christian burial and have their wills annulled. So money lending, which is necessary to all great commercial and industrial undertakings, was left to the Jews, from whom Christian conduct was not expected.

The Jews as money lenders

This ill-starred people played a most important part in the economic development of Europe, but they were terribly maltreated by the Christians, who held them guilty of the supreme crime of putting Christ to death. The active persecution of the Jews did not, however, become common before the thirteenth century, when they first began to be required to wear a peculiar cap, or badge, which made them easily recognized and exposed them to constant insult. Later they were sometimes shut up in a particular quarter of the city, called the Jewry. As they were excluded from the guilds, they not unnaturally turned to the business of money lending, which no Christian might practice. Undoubtedly this occupation had much to do in causing their unpopularity. The kings permitted them to make loans, often at a most exorbitant rate; Philip Augustus allowed them to exact forty-six per cent, but reserved the right to extort their gains from them when the royal treasury was empty. In England the usual rate was a penny a pound for each week.

The Lombards as bankers

In the thirteenth century the Italians — Lombards, as the English called them[1] — began to go into a sort of banking

[1] There is a Lombard Street in the center of old London where one still finds banks.

business and greatly extended the employment of bills of exchange. They lent for nothing, but exacted damages for all delay in repayment. This appeared reasonable and right even to those who condemned ordinary interest.

Tolls, duties, and other annoyances to which merchants were subjected on land

Another serious disadvantage which the medieval merchant had to face was the payment of an infinite number of tolls and duties which were demanded by the lords through whose domains his road passed. Not only were duties exacted on the highways, bridges, and at the fords, but those barons who were so fortunate as to have castles on a navigable river blocked the stream in such a way that the merchant could not bring his vessel through without a payment for the privilege.

The charges were usually small, but the way in which they were collected and the repeated delays must have been a serious source of irritation and loss to the merchants. For example, a certain monastery lying between Paris and the sea required that those hastening to town with fresh fish should stop and let the monks pick out what they thought worth three pence, with little regard to the condition in which they left the goods. When a boat laden with wine passed up the Seine to Paris, the agent of the lord of Poissy could have three casks broached, and, after trying them all, he could take a measure from the one he liked best. At the markets all sorts of dues had to be paid, such, for example, as fees for using the lord's scales or his measuring rod. Besides this, the great variety of coinage which existed in feudal Europe caused infinite perplexity and delay.

Dangers by sea

Commerce by sea had its own particular trials, by no means confined to the hazards of wind and wave, rock and shoal.

Pirates

Pirates were numerous in the North Sea. They were often organized and sometimes led by men of high rank, who appear to have regarded the business as no disgrace. The coasts were dangerous and lighthouses and beacons were few. Moreover, natural dangers were increased by false signals which wreckers used to lure ships to shore in order to plunder them.

The Hanseatic League

With a view to mitigating these manifold perils, the towns early began to form unions for mutual defense. The most famous of these was that of the German cities, called the Hanseatic League. Lübeck was always the leader, but among the seventy towns which at one time and another were included in the confederation, we find Cologne, Brunswick, Danzig, and other centers of great importance. The union purchased and controlled settlements in London, — the so-called Steelyard near London Bridge, — at Wisby, Bergen, and the far-off Novgorod in Russia. They managed to monopolize nearly the whole trade on the Baltic and North Sea, either through treaties or the influence that they were able to bring to bear.[1]

The League made war on the pirates and did much to reduce the dangers of traffic. Instead of dispatching separate and defenseless merchantmen, their ships sailed out in fleets under the protection of a man-of-war. On one occasion the League undertook a successful war against the king of Denmark, who had interfered with their interests. At another time it declared war on England and brought her to terms. For two hundred years before the discovery of America, the League played a great part in the commercial affairs of western Europe; but it had begun to decline even before the discovery of new routes to the East and West Indies revolutionized trade.

Trade regulated by the towns (thirteenth to fifteenth century), not by nations or individuals

It should be observed that, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, trade was not carried on between *nations*, but by the various *towns*, like Venice, Lübeck, Ghent, Bruges, Cologne. A merchant did not act or trade as an independent individual but as a member of a particular merchant guild, and he enjoyed the protection of his town and of the treaties it arranged. If a merchant from a certain town failed to pay a debt, a fellow-townsman might be seized if found in the town where the debt was due. At the period of which we have been speaking, an inhabitant of London was considered as much of a foreigner in Bristol as was the merchant from Cologne or

[1] The ships of the Hanseatic League were very small (see below, Fig. 102).

Antwerp. Only gradually did the towns merge into the nations to which their people belonged.

The business men of the towns become an influential class

The increasing wealth of the merchants could not fail to raise them to a position of importance which earlier tradesmen had not enjoyed. They began to build fine houses and to buy the various comforts and luxuries which were finding their way into western Europe. They wanted their sons to be educated, and so it came about that other people besides clergymen began to learn how to read and write. As early as the fourteenth century many of the books appear to have been written with a view of meeting the tastes and needs of the business class.

Representatives of the towns were summoned to the councils of the kings — into the English Parliament and the French Estates General about the year 1300, for the monarch was obliged to ask their advice when he demanded their money to carry on his government and his wars (see above, p. 128). The rise of the business class alongside of the older orders of the clergy and nobility is one of the most momentous changes of the thirteenth century.

Gothic Architecture

Disappearance of medieval buildings

44. Almost all the medieval buildings have disappeared in the ancient towns of Europe. The stone town walls, no longer adequate in our times, have been removed, and their place taken by broad and handsome avenues. The old houses have been torn down in order to widen and straighten the streets and permit the construction of modern dwellings. Here and there one can still find a walled town, but they are few in number and are merely curiosities (see Fig. 77).

The churches only have survived

Of the buildings erected in towns during the Middle Ages only the churches remain, but these fill the beholder with wonder and admiration. It seems impossible that the cities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were neither very large nor very rich, could possibly find money enough to pay for

them. It has been estimated that the bishop's church at Paris (Notre Dame) would cost at least five millions of dollars to reproduce, and there are a number of other cathedrals in France, England, Italy, Spain, and Germany which must have been almost as costly. No modern buildings equal them in beauty

FIG. 56. ROMANESQUE CHURCH OF CHÂTEL-MONTAGNE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ALLIER, FRANCE

This is a pure Romanesque building with no alterations in a later style, such as are common. Heavy as the walls are, they are reënforced by buttresses along the side. All the arches are round, none of them pointed

and grandeur, and they are the most striking memorial of the religious spirit and the town pride of the Middle Ages.

The construction of a cathedral sometimes extended over two or three centuries, and much of the money for it must have been gathered penny by penny. It should be remembered that every one belonged in those days to the one great Catholic Church, so that the building of a new church was a matter of

interest to the whole community — to men of every rank, from the bishop himself to the workman and the peasant.

The Romanesque style

Up to the twelfth century churches were built in what is called the *Romanesque*, or Roman-like, style because they resembled the solid old basilicas referred to in an earlier chapter (see p. 43 above). These Romanesque churches usually had stone ceilings (see Figs. 36, 38, 56), and it was necessary to make the walls very thick and solid to support them. There was a main aisle in the center, called the *nave*, and a narrower aisle on either side, separated from the nave by massive stone pillars, which helped hold up the heavy ceiling. These pillars were connected by round arches of stone above them. The tops of the windows were round, and the ceiling was constructed of round vaults, somewhat like a stone bridge, so the *round* arches form one of the striking features of the Romanesque style which distinguishes it from the Gothic style, that followed it. The windows had to be small in order that the walls should not be weakened, so the Romanesque churches are rather dark inside.

FIG. 57. FIGURES ON NOTRE DAME, PARIS

Such grotesque figures as these are very common adornments of Gothic buildings. They are often used for spouts to carry off the rain and are called gargoyles, that is, "throats" (compare our words "gargle" and "gurgle"). The two here represented are perched on a parapet of one of the church's towers

The Gothic style

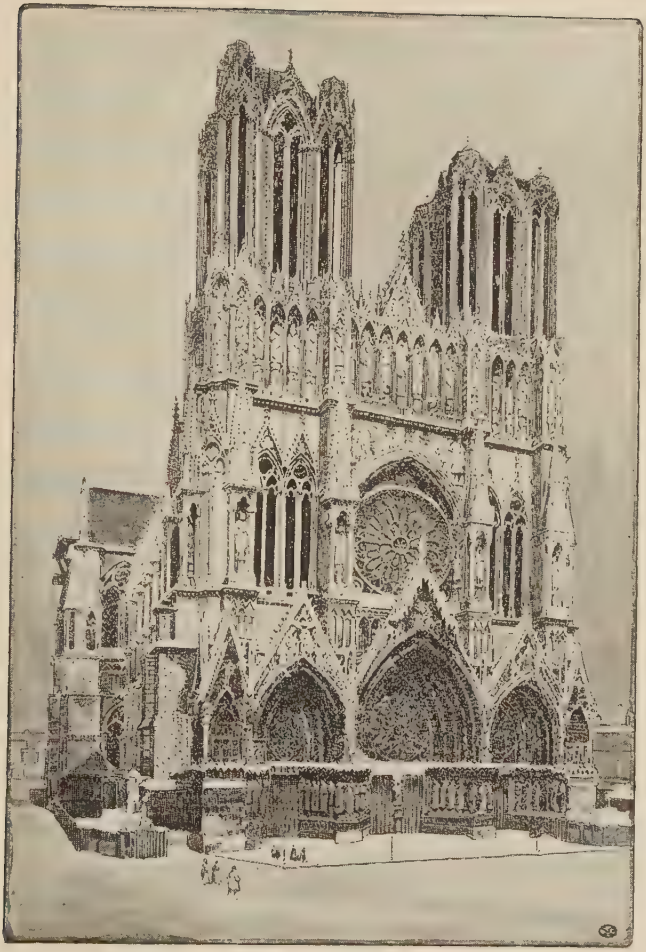
The architects of France were not satisfied, however, with this method of building, and in the twelfth century they invented a new and wonderful way of constructing churches and other buildings which enabled them to do away with the heavy walls

FIG. 58. CROSS SECTION OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL

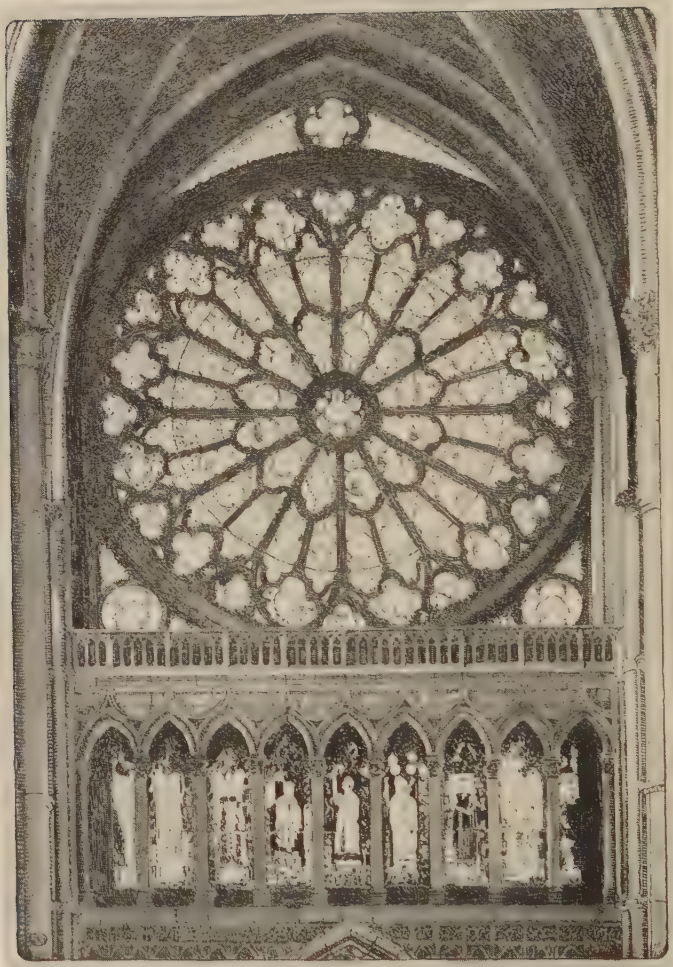
It will be noticed that there is a row of rather low windows opening under the roof of the aisle. These constitute the so-called *triforium* (*E*). Above them is the *clerestory* (*F*), the windows of which open between the flying buttresses. So it came about that the walls of a Gothic church were in fact mainly windows. The Egyptians were the first to invent the clerestory and put high, wide, graceful windows in their place. This new style of architecture is known as the *Gothic*,[1] and its underlying principles can readily be understood from a little study of the accompanying diagram (Fig. 58), which shows how a Gothic cathedral is supported, not by heavy walls, but by *buttresses*.

The architects discovered in the first place that the concave stone ceiling, which is known as the *vaulting* (*A*), could be supported by *ribs* (*B*). These could in turn be brought together and supported on top of pillars which

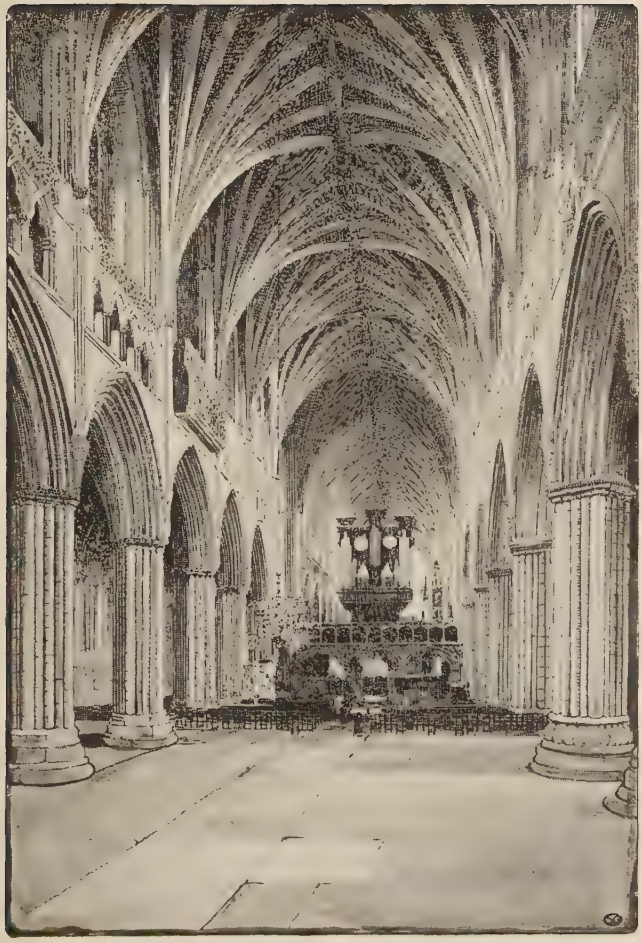
[1] The inappropriate name "Gothic" was given to the beautiful churches of the North by Italian architects of the sixteenth century, who did not like them and preferred to build in the style of the ancient Romans. The Italians with their "classical" tastes assumed that only German barbarians — whom they carelessly called Goths — could admire a Gothic cathedral.



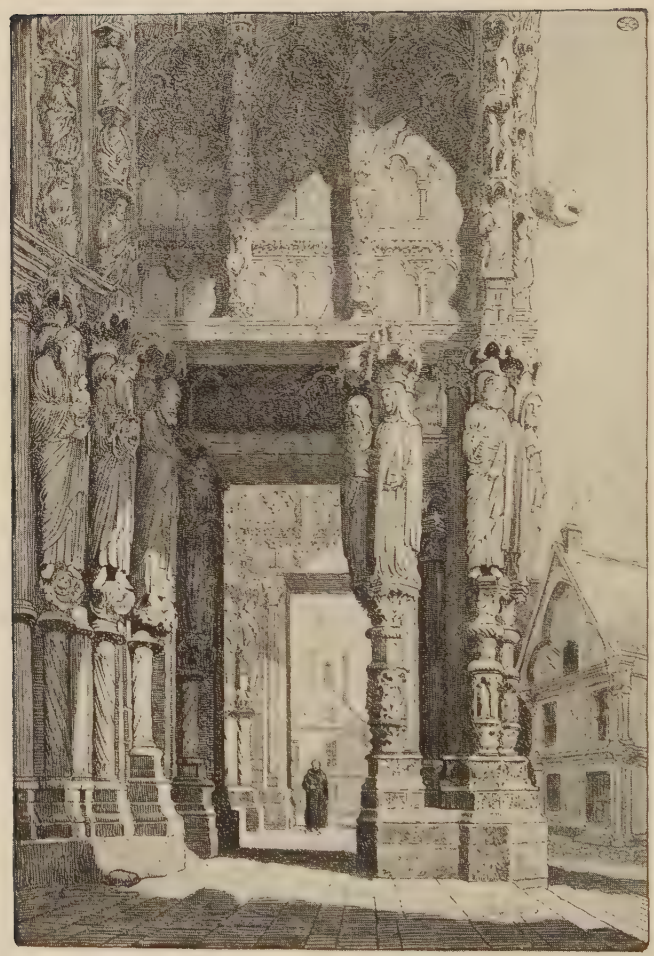
Façade of the Cathedral at Rheims (Thirteenth Century)



Rose Window of Rheims Cathedral, nearly Forty feet in Diameter, from the Inside



INTERIOR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL (EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY)



North Porch of Chartres Cathedral (Fourteenth Century)

rested on the floor of the church. So far so good! But the builders knew well enough that the pillars and ribs would be pushed over by the weight and outward "thrust" of the stone vaulting if they were not firmly supported from the outside. Instead of erecting heavy walls to insure this support they had recourse to buttresses (*D*), which they built quite outside the walls of the church, and connected them by means of "flying" buttresses (*C*) with the points where the pillars and ribs had the most tendency to push outward. *In this way a vaulted stone ceiling could be supported without the use of a massive wall.* This ingenious use of buttresses instead of walls is the fundamental principle of Gothic architecture, and it was discovered for the first time by the architects in the medieval towns.

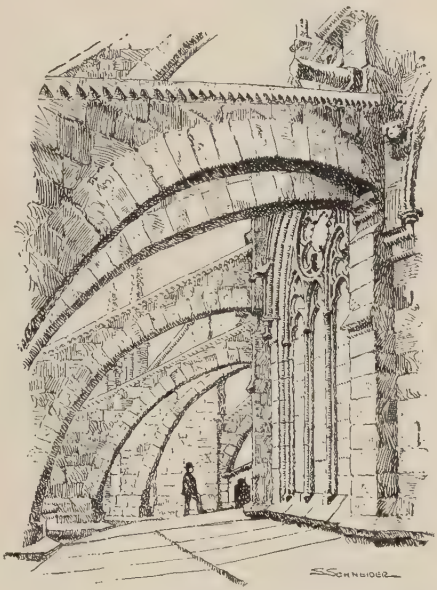


FIG. 59. FLYING BUTTRESSES OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS

The size of the buttresses and the height of the clerestory windows of a great cathedral are well shown here

The pointed arch

The wall, no longer essential for supporting the ceiling, was used only to inclose the building, and windows could be built as high and wide as pleased the architect. By the use of *pointed* instead of *round* arches it was possible to give great variety to

the windows and vaulting. So pointed arches came into general use, and the Gothic is often called the "pointed" style on this account, although the use of the ribs and buttresses is the chief peculiarity of that form of architecture, not the pointed arch.

The light from the huge windows (those at Beauvais are fifty to fifty-five feet high) would have been too intense had it not been softened by the stained glass, set in exquisite stone

FIG. 60. GROTESQUE HEADS, RHEIMS CATHEDRAL

Here and there about a Gothic cathedral the stone carvers were accustomed to place grotesque and comical figures and faces. During the process of restoring the cathedral at Rheims a number of these heads were brought together, and the photograph was taken upon which the illustration is based

tracery, with which they were filled. The stained glass of the medieval cathedral, especially in France, where the glass workers brought their art to the greatest perfection, was one of its chief glories. By far the greater part of this old glass has of course been destroyed, but it is still so highly prized that every bit of it is now carefully preserved, for it has never since been equaled. A window set with odd bits of it pieced together like crazy patchwork is more beautiful, in its rich and jewel-like coloring, than the finest modern work.

Gothic sculpture

As the skill of the architects increased they became bolder and bolder and erected churches that were marvels of lightness and delicacy of ornament, without sacrificing dignity or beauty of proportion. The façade of Rheims cathedral is one of the most famous examples of the best work of the thirteenth century, with its multitudes of sculptured figures and its gigantic rose window, filled with exquisite stained glass of great brilliancy. The interior of Exeter cathedral, although by no means so spacious as a number of the French churches, affords an excellent example of the beauty and impressiveness of a Gothic interior. The porch before the north entrance of Chartres cathedral is a magnificent example of fourteenth-century work (see the accompanying illustrations).

Fig. 61. Eve and the Serpent, Rheims

One of the charms of a Gothic building is the profusion of carving — statues of saints and rulers and scenes from the Bible, cut in stone. The same kind of stone was used for both constructing the building and making the statues, so they harmonize perfectly. A fine example of medieval carving is to be seen in Fig. 61. Here and there the Gothic stone carvers would introduce amusing faces or comical animals (see Figs. 57, 60).

Gothic used mainly in churches

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Gothic buildings other than churches were built. The most striking and important of these were the guild halls, erected by the rich corporations of merchants, and the town halls of important cities. But the Gothic style has always seemed specially appropriate for churches. Its lofty aisles and open floor spaces, its soaring

arches leading the eye toward heaven, and its glowing windows suggesting the glories of paradise, may well have fostered the faith of the medieval Christian.

The Italian Cities of the Renaissance

45. We have been speaking so far of the town life in northern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We must now see how the Italian towns in the following two centuries reached a degree of prosperity and refinement undreamed of north of the Alps. Within their walls learning and art made such extraordinary progress that a special name is often given to the period when they flourished — the *Renaissance*,[1] or new birth. The Italian towns, like those of ancient Greece, were each a little state with its own peculiar life and institutions. Some of them, like Rome, Milan, and Pisa, had been important in Roman times; others, like Venice, Florence, and Genoa, did not become conspicuous until about the time of the Crusades.

Map of Italy in the fourteenth century

The map of Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century was still divided into three zones, as it had been in the time of the Hohenstaufens.[2] To the south lay the kingdom of Naples. Then came the states of the Church, extending diagonally across the peninsula. To the north and west lay the group of city-states to which we now turn our attention.

Venice and its relations with the East

Of these none was more celebrated than Venice, which in the history of Europe ranks in importance with Paris and London. This singular town was built upon a group of sandy islets lying in the Adriatic Sea, about two miles from the mainland. It was protected from the waves by a long, narrow sand bar similar to those which fringe the Atlantic coast from New Jersey southward. Such a situation would not ordinarily have been deliberately chosen as the site of a great city; but it was a good

[1] This word, although originally French, has come into such common use that it is quite permissible to pronounce it as if it were English, — *re-nā'sens.*

[2] See map above, p. 160.

place for fishermen, and its very desolation and inaccessibility recommended it to those settlers who fled from their homes on the mainland during the barbarian invasions. As time went on, the location proved to have its advantages commercially, and even before the Crusades Venice had begun to engage in foreign

FIG. 62. A SCENE IN VENICE

Boats, called gondolas, take the place of carriages in Venice; one can reach any point in the city by some one of the numerous canals, which take the place of streets. There are also narrow lanes along the canals, crossing them here and there by bridges, so one can wander about the town on foot

trade. Its enterprises carried it eastward, and it early acquired possessions across the Adriatic and in the Orient. The influence of this intercourse with the East is plainly shown in the celebrated church of St. Mark, whose domes and decorations suggest Constantinople rather than Italy (Fig. 63).

It was not until early in the fifteenth century that Venice found it to her interest to extend her sway upon the Italian

Venice extends her sway on the mainland

mainland. She doubtless believed it dangerous to permit her rival, Milan, to get possession of the Alpine passes through which her goods found their way north. It may be, too, that she

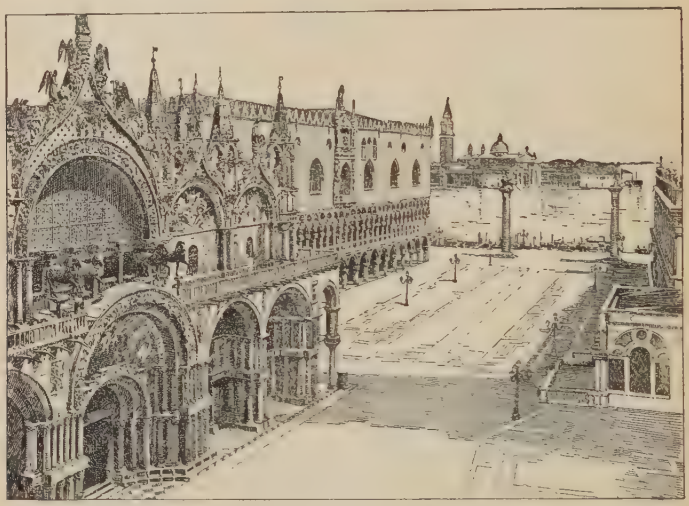


FIG. 63. ST. MARK'S AND THE DOGE'S PALACE IN VENICE

One sees the façade of St. Mark's to the left, and that of the doge's palace beyond. The church, modeled after one in Constantinople, was planned before the First Crusade and is adorned with numerous colored marble columns and slabs brought from the East. The interior is covered with mosaics, some of which go back to the twelfth and the thirteenth century. The façade is also adorned with brilliant mosaics. St. Mark's "is unique among the buildings of the world in respect to its unparalleled richness of material and decoration." The doge's palace contained the government offices and the magnificent halls in which the senate and Council of Ten met. The palace was begun about 1300, and the façade we see in the picture was commenced about a hundred years later. It shows the influence of the Gothic style, which penetrated into northern Italy

preferred to draw her food supplies from the neighborhood instead of transporting them across the Adriatic from her eastern possessions. Moreover, all the Italian cities except Venice already controlled a larger or smaller area of country about them.

In the fifteenth century Venice reached the height of its prosperity. It had a population of two hundred thousand, which was very large for those days. It had three hundred seagoing vessels which went to and fro in the Mediterranean, carrying wares from the East to the West. It had a war fleet of forty-five galleys, manned by eleven thousand marines ready to

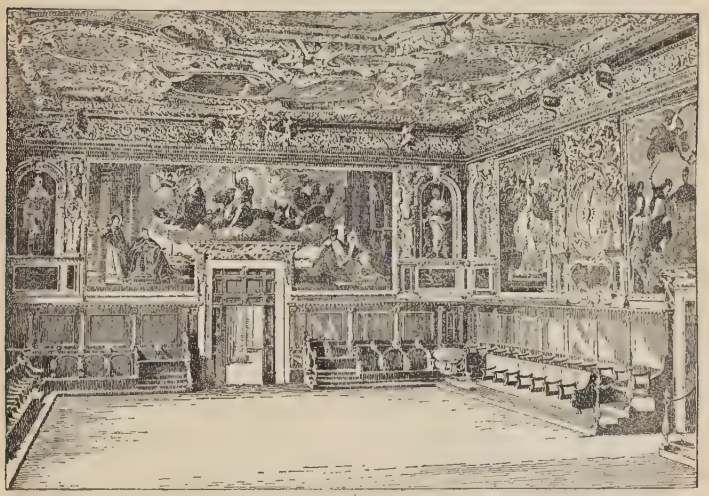


FIG. 64. SENATE CHAMBER IN THE DOGE'S PALACE

This is an example of the magnificent decoration of the rooms used by the Venetian government. It was adorned by celebrated painters in the sixteenth century, when Venice became famous for its artists

fight the battles of the republic, and had agents in every important city of Europe. But when the route to India by sea was discovered (see next section), Venice could no longer keep control of the trade with the East, and while it remained an important city, it no longer enjoyed its former influence and power.

Although Venice was called a republic, it was really governed by a very small group of persons. In 1311, after a

Aristocratic government of Venice

rebellion, the famous Council of Ten was created as a sort of committee of public safety. The whole government, domestic and foreign, was placed in its hands, in conjunction with the senate and the *doge* (that is, duke), the nominal head of the republic. The government, thus concentrated in the hands of a very few, was carried on with great secrecy, so that public discussion, such as prevailed in Florence and led to innumerable revolutions there, was unheard of in Venice. The Venetian merchant was such a busy person that he was quite willing that the State should exercise its functions without his interference.

Venice often came to blows with other rival cities, especially Genoa, but its citizens lived quietly at home under the government of its senate, the Council of Ten, and the doge. The other Italian towns were not only fighting one another much of the time, but their government was often in the hands of *despots*, somewhat like the old Greek tyrants, who got control of towns and managed them in their own interest.

Position and character of the Italian despots

There are many stories of the incredible ferocity exhibited by the Italian despots. It must be remembered that they were very rarely legitimate rulers, but usurpers, who could only hope to retain their power so long as they could keep their subjects in check and defend themselves against equally illegitimate usurpers in the neighboring cities. This situation developed a high degree of sagacity, and many of the despots found it to their interest to govern well and even to give dignity to their rule by patronizing artists and men of letters. But the despot usually made many bitter enemies and was almost necessarily suspicious of treason on the part of those about him. He was ever conscious that at any moment he might fall a victim to the dagger or the poison cup.

The *condottieri*

The Italian towns carried on their wars among themselves largely by means of hired troops. When a military expedition was proposed, a bargain was made with one of the professional leaders (*condottieri*), who provided the necessary force. As the soldiers had no more interest in the conflict than did those whom

they opposed, who were likewise hired for the occasion, the fight was not usually very bloody; for the object of each side was to capture the other without unnecessarily rough treatment.

It sometimes happened that the leader who had conquered a town for his employer appropriated the fruits of the victory for himself. This occurred in the case of Milan in 1450. The old line of despots (the Visconti) having died out, the citizens hired a certain captain, named Francesco Sforza, to assist them in a war against Venice, whose possessions now extended almost to those of Milan. When Sforza had repelled the Venetians, the Milanese found it impossible to get rid of him, and he and his successors became rulers over the town.

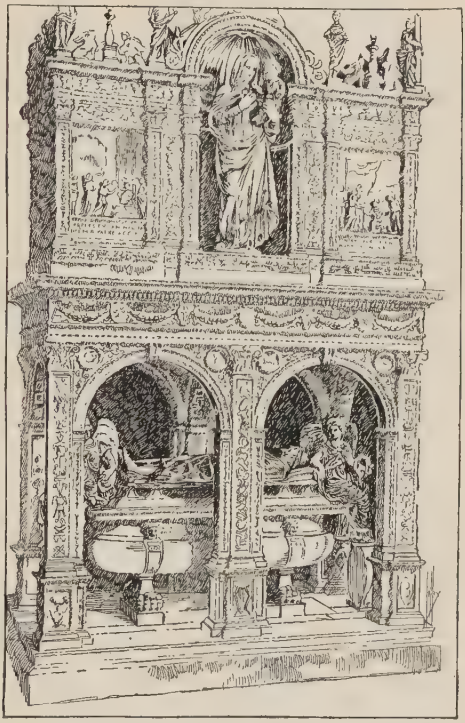


FIG. 65. TOMB OF AN ITALIAN DESPOT

The family of the Visconti maintained themselves many years as despots of Milan. Gian Galeazzo Visconti began in 1396 a magnificent Carthusian monastery not far from Milan, one of the most beautiful structures in Italy. Here, long after his death, a monument was erected to him as founder of the monastery. The monument was begun about 1500 but not completed for several decades

Machiavelli's *Prince*

An excellent notion of the position and policy of the Italian despots may be derived from a little treatise called *The Prince*, written by the distinguished Florentine historian, Machiavelli. The writer appears to have intended his book as a practical manual for the despots of his time. It is a cold-blooded discussion of the ways in which a usurper may best retain his control over a town after he has once got possession of it. The author even takes up the questions as to how far princes should consider their promises when it is inconvenient to keep them, and how many of the inhabitants the despot may wisely kill. Machiavelli concludes that the Italian princes who have not observed their engagements overscrupulously, and who have boldly put their political adversaries out of the way, have fared better than their more conscientious rivals.

Florence

The history of Florence, perhaps the most important of the Italian cities, differs in many ways from that of Venice and of the despotisms of which Milan was an example. Florence was a republic, and all classes claimed the right to interest themselves in the government. This led to constant changes in the constitution and frequent struggles between the different political parties. When one party got the upper hand it generally expelled its chief opponents from the city. Exile was a terrible punishment to a Florentine, for Florence was not merely his native city — it was his *country*, and loved and honored as such.

The Medici

By the middle of the fifteenth century Florence had come under the control of the great family of the Medici, whose members played the rôle of very enlightened political bosses. By quietly watching the elections and secretly controlling the selection of city officials, they governed without letting it be suspected that the people had lost their power. The most distinguished member of the House of Medici was Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492); under his rule Florence reached the height of its glory in art and literature.

Lorenzo the Magnificent

As one wanders about Florence to-day, he is impressed with the contradictions of the Renaissance period. The streets are

lined with the palaces of the noble families to whose rivalries much of the continual disturbance was due. The lower stories of these buildings are constructed of great stones, like fortresses, and their windows are barred like those of a prison (Fig. 66); yet within they were often furnished with the greatest taste and luxury. For in spite of the disorder, against which the rich protected themselves by making their houses half strongholds, the beautiful churches, noble public buildings, and works of art which now fill the museums indicate that mankind has never, perhaps, reached a higher degree of perfection in the arts of peace than amidst the turmoil of this restless town (see below, section 52).

FIG. 66. THE PALACE OF THE MEDICI IN FLORENCE

This was erected about 1435 by Cosimo dei Medici, and in it Lorenzo the Magnificent conducted the government of Florence and entertained the men of letters and artists with whom he liked best to associate. It shows how fortresslike the lower portions of a Florentine palace were, in order to protect the owner from attack

Rome, the capital of the papacy

During the same period in which Venice and Florence became leaders in wealth and refinement, Rome, the capital of the popes, likewise underwent a great change. After the popes returned from their seventy years' residence in France and Avignon (see above, p. 199) they found the town in a dilapidated state. For years they were able to do little to restore it, as there was a long period during which the papacy was weakened by the existence of a rival line of popes who continued to live at Avignon. When the "great schism" was over and all the European nations once more acknowledged the pope at Rome (1417), it became possible to improve the city and revive some of its ancient glory. Architects, painters, and men of letters were called in and handsomely paid by the popes to erect and adorn magnificent buildings and to collect a great library in the Vatican palace.

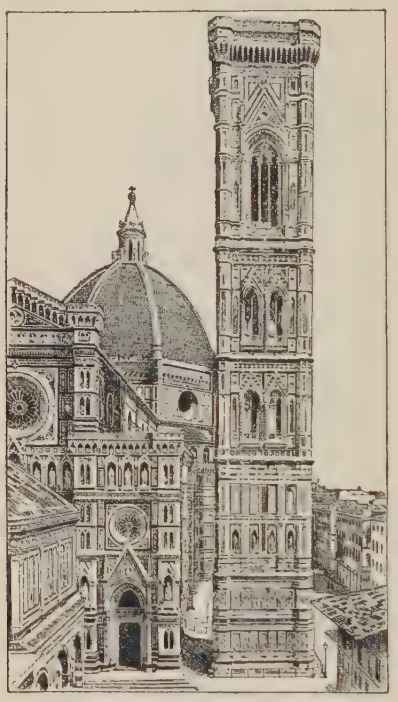


FIG. 67. CATHEDRAL AND BELL TOWER AT FLORENCE

The church was begun in 1296 and completed in 1436. The great dome built by the architect Brunelleschi has made his name famous. It is 300 feet high. The façade is modern but after an old design. The bell tower, or campanile, was begun by the celebrated painter Giotto about 1335 and completed about fifty years later. It is richly adorned with sculpture and colored marbles and is considered the finest structure of the kind in the world

The ancient basilica of St. Peter's (Fig. 13) no longer satisfied the aspirations of the popes. It was gradually torn down, and after many changes of plan the present celebrated church with its vast dome and imposing approach (Fig. 68) took its

St Peter's rebuilt

FIG. 68. ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN PALACE

This is the largest church in the world. It is about 700 feet long, including the portico, and 435 feet high, from the pavement to the cross on the dome. The reconstruction was begun as early as 1450 but it proceeded very slowly. Several great architects, Bramante, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and others were intrusted with the work. After many changes of plan the new church was finally in condition to consecrate in 1626. It is estimated that it cost over $50,000,000. The construction of the vast palace of the popes, which one sees to the right of the church, was carried on during the same period. It is said to have no less than eleven thousand rooms. Some of them are used for museums and others are celebrated for the frescoes which adorn their walls, by Raphael, Michael Angelo, and other of Italy's greatest artists

place. The old palace of the Lateran (Fig. 12), where the government of the popes had been carried on for a thousand years, had been deserted after the return from Avignon, and the new palace of the Vatican was gradually constructed to the right of St. Peter's. It has thousands of rooms great and small,

The Vatican

some of them adorned by the most distinguished of the Italian painters, and others filled with ancient statuary.

As one visits Venice, Florence, and Rome to-day he may still see, almost perfectly preserved, many of the finest of the buildings, paintings, and monuments which belong to the period we have been discussing.

Early Geographical Discoveries

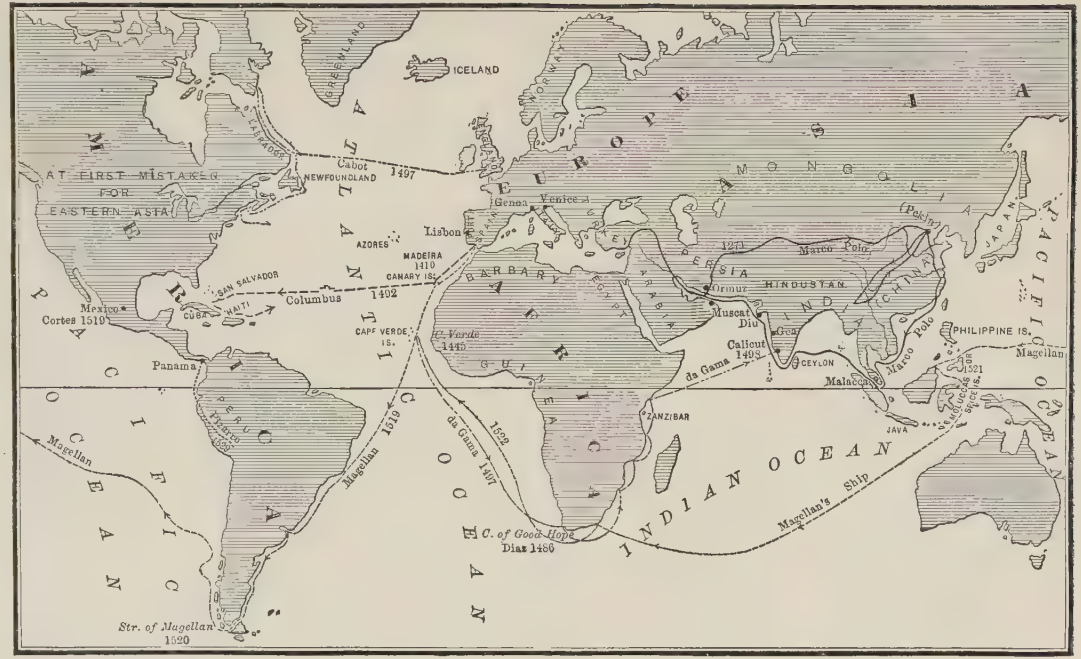
Medieval commerce on a small scale

46. The business and commerce of the medieval towns was on what would seem to us a rather small scale. There were no great factories, such as have grown up in recent times with the use of steam and machinery, and the ships which sailed the Mediterranean and the North Sea were small and held only a very light cargo compared with modern merchant vessels. The gradual growth of a world commerce began with the sea voyages of the fifteenth century, which led to the exploration by Europeans of the whole globe, most of which was entirely unknown to the Venetian merchants and those who carried on the trade of the Hanseatic League. The Greeks and Romans knew little about the world beyond southern Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia, and much that they knew was forgotten during the Middle Ages. The Crusades took many Europeans as far east as Egypt and Syria. About 1260 two Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers, visited China and were kindly received at Pekin by the emperor of the Mongols. On

Marco Polo

a second journey they were accompanied by Marco Polo, the son of one of the brothers. When they got safely back to Venice in 1295, after a journey of twenty years, Marco gave an account of his experiences which filled his readers with wonder. Nothing stimulated the interest of the West more than his fabulous description of the abundance of gold in Zipangu (Japan)[1] and of the spice markets of the Moluccas and Ceylon.

[1] See below, p. 236.



THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

The discoveries of the Portuguese in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

About the year 1318 Venice and Genoa opened up direct communication by sea with the towns of the Netherlands. Their fleets, which touched at the port of Lisbon, aroused the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese, who soon began to undertake extended maritime expeditions. By the middle of the fourteenth century they had discovered the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores. Before this time no one had ventured along the coast of Africa beyond the arid region of Sahara. The country was forbidding, there were no ports, and mariners were, moreover, discouraged by the general belief that the torrid region was uninhabitable. In 1445, however, some adventurous sailors came within sight of a headland beyond the desert and, struck by its luxuriant growth of tropical trees, they called it Cape Verde (the green cape). Its discovery put an end once for all to the idea that there were only parched deserts to the south.

For a generation longer the Portuguese continued to venture farther and farther along the coast, in the hope of finding it coming to an end, so that they might make their way by sea to India. At last, in 1486, Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Twelve years later (1498) Vasco da Gama, spurred on by Columbus's great discovery, after sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and northward beyond Zanzibar, aided by an Arab pilot steered straight across the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut, in Hindustan, by sea.

The spice trade

Vasco da Gama and his fellow adventurers were looked upon with natural suspicion by the Mohammedan spice merchants, who knew very well that their object was to establish *direct* trade between the Spice Islands (Moluccas) and western Europe. Hitherto the Mohammedans had had the monopoly of the spice trade between the Moluccas and the eastern ports of the Mediterranean, where the products were handed over to Italian merchants. The Mohammedans were unable, however, to prevent the Portuguese from concluding treaties with the Indian princes and establishing trading stations at Goa and elsewhere. In 1512

a successor of Vasco da Gama reached Java and the Moluccas, where the Portuguese speedily built a fortress. By 1515 Portugal had become the greatest among sea powers; and spices reached Lisbon regularly without the intervention of the Mohammedan merchants or the Italian towns, which, especially Venice, were mortally afflicted by the change (see above, p. 225).

THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

The outline of the United States has been drawn in to make clear the vast extent of the region explored by the Portuguese at the opening of the sixteenth century. It is not far from 2000 miles from Ceylon to Malacca Strait, and as far from there on to the Spice Islands as from Denver to Richmond, Virginia

Importance of spices in encouraging navigation

There is no doubt that the desire to obtain spices was at this time the main reason for the exploration of the globe. This motive led European navigators to try in succession every possible way to reach the East — by going around Africa, by sailing west in the hope of reaching the Indies (before they knew of the existence of America), then, after America was discovered, by sailing around it to the north or south, and even sailing around Europe to the north.

It is hard for us to understand this enthusiasm for spices, for which we care much less nowadays. One former use of spices was to preserve food, which could not then as now be carried rapidly, while still fresh, from place to place; nor did our conveniences then exist for keeping it by the use of ice. Moreover, spice served to make even spoiled food more palatable than it would otherwise have been.

Idea of reaching the Spice Islands by sailing westward

It inevitably occurred to thoughtful men that the East Indies could be reached by sailing *westward*. All intelligent people knew, all through the Middle Ages, that the earth was a globe. The chief authority upon the form and size of the earth continued to be the ancient astronomer Ptolemy, who had lived about 150 A.D. He had reckoned the earth to be about one sixth smaller than it is; and as Marco Polo had given an exaggerated idea of the distance which he and his companions had traveled eastward, and as no one suspected the existence of the American continents, it was supposed that it could not be a very long journey from Europe across the Atlantic to Japan.[1]

Columbus discovers America, 1492

In 1492, as we all know, a Genoese navigator, Columbus (b. 1451), who had had much experience on the sea, got together three little ships and undertook the journey westward to Zipangu, — the land of gold, — which he hoped to reach in five weeks. After thirty-two days from the time he left the Canary Islands he came upon land, the island of San Salvador, and believed himself to be in the East Indies. Going on from there he discovered the island of Cuba, which he believed to be the mainland of Asia, and then Haiti, which he mistook for the longed-for Zipangu (see p. 232). Although he made three later expeditions and sailed down the coast of South America as far as the Orinoco, he died without realizing that he had not been exploring the coast of Asia.

Magellan's expedition around the world

After the bold enterprises of Vasco da Gama and Columbus, an expedition headed by the Portuguese Magellan succeeded in circumnavigating the globe. There was now no reason why

[1] See accompanying reproduction of Behaim's globe.

A Map of the Globe in the Time of Columbus

In 1492 a German mariner, Behaim, made a globe which is still preserved in Nuremberg. He did not know of the existence of the American continents or of the vast Pacific Ocean. It will be noticed that he places Japan (Cipango) where Mexico lies. In the reproduction many names are omitted and the outlines of North and South America are sketched in so as to make clear the misconceptions of Columbus's time

the new lands should not become more and more familiar to the European nations. The coast of North America was explored principally by English navigators, who for over a century pressed northward, still in the vain hope of finding a northwest passage to the Spice Islands.

The Spanish conquests in America

Cortes began the Spanish conquests in the western world by undertaking the subjugation of the Aztec empire in Mexico in 1519. A few years later Pizarro established the Spanish power in Peru. Spain now superseded Portugal as a maritime power, and her importance in the sixteenth century is to be attributed largely to the wealth which came to her from her possessions in the New World — mainly gold and silver.

The Spanish main

By the end of the century the Spanish main — that is, the northern coast of South America — was much frequented by adventurous seamen, who combined in about equal parts the occupations of merchant, slaver, and pirate. Many of these hailed from English ports, and it is to them that England owes the beginning of her commercial greatness.

It is hardly necessary to say that Europeans exhibited an utter disregard for the rights of the people with whom they came in contact and often treated them with contemptuous cruelty. The exploration of the globe and the conquest by European nations of peoples beyond the sea led finally to the vast colonization of modern times, which has caused many wars but has served to spread European ideas throughout the world.

QUESTIONS

Section 42. Why are towns necessary to progress? How did the towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries originate? What was the nature of a town charter? Describe the guild organization.

Section 43. Describe the revival and extending of commerce in the Middle Ages. What were some of the obstacles to business? Describe the Hanseatic League.

SECTION 44. What are the chief characteristics of Romanesque churches? What were the principles of construction which made it possible to build a Gothic church? Tell something about the decoration of a Gothic church.

SECTION 45. Describe the map of Italy in the fourteenth century. What are the peculiarities of Venice? Who were the Italian despots? What is the interest of Machiavelli's *Prince*? Contrast Florence with Venice.

SECTION 46. What geographical discoveries were made before 1500? How far is it by sea from Lisbon to Calicut around the Cape of Good Hope? What was the importance of the spice trade? What led Columbus to try to reach the Indies by sailing westward?

CHAPTER XII

BOOKS AND SCIENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

How the Modern Languages originated

47. We should leave the Middle Ages with a very imperfect notion of them if we did not now stop to consider what people were thinking about during that period, what they had to read, and what they believed about the world in which they lived.

General use of Latin in the Middle Ages

To begin with, the Middle Ages differed from our own time in the very general use then made of Latin, in both writing and speaking. The language of the Roman Empire continued to be used in the thirteenth century, and long after; all books that made any claim to learning were written in Latin;[1] the professors in the universities lectured in Latin, friends wrote to one another in Latin, and state papers, treaties, and legal documents were drawn up in the same language. The ability of every educated person to make use of Latin, as well as of his native tongue, was a great advantage at a time when there were many obstacles to intercourse among the various nations. It helps to explain, for example, the remarkable way in which the pope kept in touch with all the clergymen of western Christendom, and the ease with which students, friars, and merchants could wander from one country to another. There is no more interesting or important revolution than that by which the languages of the people in the various European countries gradually pushed aside the ancient tongue and took its place, so that even scholars scarcely ever think now of writing books in Latin.

[1] In Germany the books published annually in the German language did not exceed those in Latin until after 1690.

In order to understand how it came about that two languages, the Latin and the native speech, were both commonly used in all the countries of western Europe all through the Middle Ages, we must glance at the origin of the modern languages. These all fall into two quite distinct groups, the *Germanic* and the *Romance.*

The Germanic languages derived from the dialects of the German barbarians

Those German peoples who had continued to live outside of the Roman Empire, or who, during the invasions, had not settled far enough within its bounds to be led, as were the Franks in Gaul, to adopt the tongue of those they had conquered, naturally adhered to the language they had always used; namely, the particular Germanic dialect which their forefathers had spoken for untold generations. From the various languages used by the German barbarians, modern German, English, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic are derived.

The Romance languages derived from the spoken Latin

The second group of languages developed within the territory which had formed a part of the Roman Empire, and includes modern French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. It has now been clearly proved, by a very minute study of the old forms of words, that these Romance languages were one and all derived from the *spoken* Latin, employed by the soldiers, merchants, and people at large. This differed considerably from the elaborate and elegant written Latin which was used, for example, by Cicero and Cæsar. It was undoubtedly much simpler in its grammar and varied a good deal in different regions; a Gaul, for instance, could not pronounce the words like a Roman. Moreover, in conversation people did not always use the same words as those employed in books. For example, a horse was commonly spoken of as *caballus*, whereas a writer would use the word *equus*; it is from *caballus* that the word for "horse" in Spanish, Italian, and French is derived (*caballo*, *cavallo*, *cheval*).

As time went on the spoken language diverged farther and farther from the written. Latin is a troublesome speech on account of its complicated inflections and grammatical rules,

which can be mastered only after a great deal of study. The people of the more remote Roman provinces and the incoming barbarians naturally paid very little attention to the niceties of syntax and found easy ways of saying what they wished.[1]

Yet several centuries elapsed after the German invasions before there was anything written in the language used in conversation. So long as the uneducated could understand the correct Latin of the books when they heard it read or spoken, there was no necessity of writing anything in their familiar daily speech. But by the time Charlemagne came to the throne the gulf between the spoken and the written language had become so great that he advised that sermons should be given thereafter in the language of the people, who, apparently, could no longer follow the Latin.

Although little was written in any German language before Charlemagne's time, there is no doubt that the Germans possessed an unwritten literature, which was passed down by word of mouth for several centuries before any of it was written out.

Ancient English, or Anglo-Saxon

The oldest form of English is commonly called Anglo-Saxon and is so different from the language which we use that, in order to be read, it must be learned like a foreign language. We hear of an English poet, as early as Bede's time, a century before Charlemagne. A manuscript of an Anglo-Saxon epic, called *Beowulf*, has been preserved which belongs perhaps to the close of the eighth century. The interest which King Alfred displayed in the English language has already been mentioned. This old form of our language prevailed until after the Norman Conquest; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which does not close until 1154, is written in pure Anglo-Saxon. Here is an example:

"Here on thissum geare Willelm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle thone eorldom on Northymbraland. Da komon tha landes menn

[1] Even the monks and others who wrote Latin in the Middle Ages often did not know enough to follow strictly the rules of the language. Moreover, they introduced many new words to meet the new conditions and the needs of the time, such as *imprisonare*, "to imprison"; *utlagare*, "to outlaw"; *baptizare*, "to baptize"; *foresta*, "forest"; *feudum*, "fief," etc.

togeanes him & hine ofslogen, & ix hund manna mid him."[1] In modern English this reads: "In this year King William gave the Earl Robert the earldom of Northumberland. Then came the men of the country against him and slew him, and nine hundred men with him."

By the middle of the thirteenth century, two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, English begins to look somewhat familiar:

An example of English in the thirteenth century (from *A Metrical Version of Genesis*)

And Aaron held up his hond
To the water and the more lond;
Tho cam thor up schwilc froschkes here
The dede al folc Egipte dere;
Summe woren wilde, and summe tame,
And tho hem deden the moste schame;
In huse, in drinc, in metes, in bed,
It cropen and maden hem for-dred. . . .

Modernized version

And Aaron held up his hand
To the water and the greater land;
Then came there up such host of frogs
That did all Egypt's folk harm;
Some were wild, and some were tame,
And those caused them the most shame;
In house, in drink, in meats, in bed,
They crept and made them in great dread. . . .

Chaucer (about 1340–1400) was the first great English writer whose works are now read with pleasure, although one is sometimes puzzled by his spelling and certain words which are no longer used. This is the way one of his tales opens:

A poure wydow somdel stope in age,
Was whilom dwellyng in a narwe cotage,

[1] In writing Anglo-Saxon two old letters are used for *th*, one (þ) for the sound in "thin" and the other (ð) for that in "father." The use of these old letters serves to make the language look more different from that of to-day than it is.

Bisyde a grove, stondyng in a dale.
This wydwe of wichh I telle yow my tale,
Syn thilke day that sche was last a wif,
In pacience ladde a ful symple lyf.

In the Middle Ages, however, French, not English, was the most important of the national languages of western Europe. In France a vast literature was produced in the language of the people during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which profoundly affected the books written in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England.

French and Provençal

Two quite different languages had gradually developed in France from the spoken Latin of the Roman Empire. To the north, French was spoken; to the south, Provençal.[1]

Medieval French romances

Very little in the ancient French language written before the year 1100 has been preserved. The West Franks undoubtedly began much earlier to sing of their heroes, of the great deeds of Clovis and Charles Martel. These famous rulers were, however, completely overshadowed later by Charlemagne, who became the unrivaled hero of medieval poetry and romance. It was believed that he had reigned for a hundred and twenty-five years, and the most marvelous exploits were attributed to him and his knights. He was supposed, for instance, to have led a crusade to Jerusalem. Such themes as these — more legend than history — were woven into long epics, which were the first written literature of the Frankish people. These poems, combined with the stories of adventure, developed a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm among the French which made them regard "fair France" as the especial care of Providence.

The famous *Song of Roland*, the chief character of which was one of Charlemagne's captains, was written before the First

[1] Of course there was no sharp line of demarcation between the people who used the one language or the other, nor was Provençal confined to southern France. The language of Catalonia, beyond the Pyrenees, was essentially the same as that of Provence. French was called *langue d'oïl*, and the southern language *langue d'oc*, each after the word used for "yes."

Romances of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table

Crusade. In the latter part of the twelfth century the romances of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table begin to appear. These enjoyed great popularity in all western Europe for centuries, and they are by no means forgotten yet. Arthur, of whose historical existence no one can be quite sure, was supposed to have been king of Britain shortly after the Saxons gained a foothold in the island.[1]

In other long poems of the time, Alexander the Great, Cæsar, and other ancient worthies appear as heroes. The absolute disregard of historical facts and the tendency to represent the warriors of Troy and Rome as medieval knights show the inability of the medieval mind to understand that the past could have been different from the present. All these romances are full of picturesque adventures and present a vivid picture of the valor and loyalty of the true knight, as well as of his ruthlessness and contempt for human life.

The *fabliaux* and the fables

Besides the long and elaborate epics, like *Roland*, and the romances in verse and prose, there were numberless short stories in verse (the *fabliaux*), which usually dealt with the incidents of everyday life, especially with the comical ones. Then there were the fables, the most famous of which are the stories of Reynard the Fox, which were satires upon the customs of the time, particularly the weaknesses of the priests and monks.

The Troubadours and Chivalry

The troubadours

48. Turning now to southern France, the beautiful songs of the *troubadours*, which were the glory of the Provençal tongue, reveal a gay and polished society at the courts of the numerous feudal princes. The rulers not merely protected and encouraged the poets — they aspired to be poets themselves and to enter the ranks of the troubadours, as the composers of these elegant

[1] Malory's *Mort d'Arthur*, a collection of the stories of the Round Table made in the fifteenth century for English readers, is the best place to turn for these famous stories.

verses were called. These songs were always sung to an accompaniment on some instrument, usually the lute. The troubadours traveled from court to court, not only in France, but north into Germany and south into Italy, carrying with them the southern French poetry and customs. We have few examples of Provençal before the year 1100, but from that time on, for two centuries, countless songs were written, and many of the troubadours enjoyed an international reputation. The terrible Albigensian crusade brought misery and death into the sprightly circles which had gathered about the Count of Toulouse and other rulers who had treated the heretics too leniently.

Chivalry

For the student of history, the chief interest of the long poems of northern France and the songs of the South lies in the insight that they give into the life and aspirations of this feudal period. These are usually summed up in the term *chivalry*, or *knighthood*, of which a word may properly be said here, since we should know little of it were it not for the literature of which we have been speaking. The knights play the chief rôle in all the medieval romances; and, since many of the troubadours belonged to the knightly class, they naturally have much to say of it in their songs.

Chivalry was not a formal institution established at any particular moment. Like feudalism, with which it was closely connected, it had no founder, but appeared spontaneously throughout western Europe to meet the needs and desires of the period. When the youth of good family had been carefully trained to ride his horse, use his sword, and manage his hawk in the hunt, he was made a *knight* by a ceremony in which the Church took part, although the knighthood was actually conferred by an older knight.

Nature of the knightly order

The knight was a Christian soldier, and he and his fellows were supposed to form, in a way, a separate order, with high ideals of the conduct befitting their class. Knighthood was not, however, membership in an association with officers and a definite constitution. It was an ideal, half-imaginary society

— a society to which even those who enjoyed the title of king or duke were proud to belong. One was not born a knight as he might be born a duke or count, and could become one only through the ceremony mentioned above. Although most knights belonged to the nobility, one might be a noble and still not belong to the knightly order, and, on the other hand, one who was baseborn might be raised to knighthood on account of some valorous deed.

The ideals of the knight

The knight must, in the first place, be a Christian and must obey and defend the Church on all occasions. He must respect all forms of weakness and defend the helpless wherever he might find them. He must fight the infidel Mohammedans ceaselessly, pitilessly, and never give way before the enemy. He must perform all his feudal duties, be faithful in all things to his lord, never lie or violate his plighted word. He must be generous and give freely and ungrudgingly to the needy. He must be faithful to his lady and be ready to defend her and her honor at all costs. Everywhere he must be the champion of the right against injustice and oppression. In short, chivalry was the Christianized profession of arms.

In the stories of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table there is a beautiful picture of the ideal knight. The dead Lancelot is addressed by one of his sorrowing companions as follows: "Thou wert the courtliest knight that ever bare shield, and thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrode horse, and thou wert the truest lover among sinful men that ever loved woman, and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword, and thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among the crowd of knights, and thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies, and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in breast."

The German minne-singers

The Germans also made their contribution to the literature of chivalry. The German poets of the thirteenth century are called *minnesingers*. Like the troubadours, whom they greatly

admired, they usually sang of love, hence their name (German, *Minne*). The most famous of the minnesingers was Walther von der Vogelweide (d. about 1228), whose songs are full of charm and of enthusiasm for his German fatherland. Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. about 1225) in his story of *Parsifal* gives the long and sad adventures of a knight in search of the Holy Grail — the sacred vessel which had held the blood of Christ, which only a person perfectly pure in thought, word, and deed could hope to behold.

Walther von der Vogelweide

Medieval Science

49. So long as all books had to be copied by hand, there were, of course, but few of them compared with those of modern times. The literature of which we have been speaking was not in general *read*, but was only *listened to*, as it was sung or recited by those who made it their profession. Wherever the wandering troubadour or minnesinger appeared he was sure of a delighted audience for his songs and stories, both serious and light. People unfamiliar with Latin could, however, learn little of the past, for there were no translations of the great classics of Greece and Rome, of Homer, Plato, Cicero, or Livy. All that they could know of ancient history was derived from the fantastic romances referred to above, which had for their theme the quite preposterous deeds ascribed to Alexander the Great, Æneas, and Cæsar. As for their own history, the epics relating to the earlier course of events in France and the rest of Europe were hopelessly confused. For example, the writers attributed to Charlemagne a great part of the acts of the Frankish kings from Clovis to Pippin.

General ignorance of the past

Of what we should call scientific books there were practically none. It is true that there was a kind of encyclopedia in verse which gave a great deal of misinformation about things in general. Every one continued to believe, as the Greeks and Romans had done, in strange animals like the unicorn, the dragon, and the

Medieval popular science

phenix, and in still stranger habits of real animals. A single example will suffice to show what passed for zoölogy in the thirteenth century.

The salamander

"There is a little beast made like a lizard and such is its nature that it will extinguish fire should it fall into it. The beast is so cold and of such a quality that fire is not able to burn it, nor will trouble happen in the place where it shall be." This beast signifies the holy man who lives by faith, who "will never have hurt from fire nor will hell burn him. . . . This beast we name also by another name, salamander. It is accustomed to mount into apple-trees, poisons the apples, and in a well where it falls it poisons the water."

Medieval idea of the eagle's habits

"The eagle [we are told by a learned writer of the time of Henry II], on account of its great heat, mixeth very cold stones with its eggs when it sitteth on them, so that the heat shall not destroy them. In the same way our words, when we speak with undue heat, should later be tempered with discretion, so that we may conciliate in the end those whom we offended by the beginning of our speech."

Moral lessons derived from the habits of animals

It will be noticed that the habits of the animals were supposed to have some moral or religious meaning and carry with them a lesson for mankind. It may be added that this and similar stories were centuries old and are found in the encyclopedias of the Romans. The most improbable things were repeated from generation to generation without its occurring to any one to inquire if there was any truth in them. Even the most learned men of the time believed in astrology and in the miraculous virtues of herbs and gems. For instance, Albertus Magnus, one of the most distinguished thinkers of the thirteenth century, says that a sapphire will drive away boils and that the diamond can be softened in the blood of a stag, which will work best if the stag has been fed on wine and parsley.

From the Roman and early Christian writers the Middle Ages got the idea of strange races of men and manlike creatures of various kinds. We find the following in an encyclopedia of the

thirteenth century: "Satyrs be somewhat like men, and have crooked noses, and horns in the forehead, and are like to goats in their feet. St. Anthony saw such an one in the wilderness. . . . These wonderful beasts be divers; for some of them be called Cynocephali, for they have heads as hounds, and seem beasts rather than men; and some be called Cyclops, and have that name because each of them hath but one eye, and that in the middle of the forehead; and some be all headless and noseless and their eyes be in the shoulders; and some have plain faces without nostrils, and the nether lips of them stretch so that they veil therewith their faces when they be in the heat of the sun. Also in Scythia be some with so great and large ears, that they spread their ears and cover all their bodies with them, and these be called Panchios. . . ."

Strange manlike creations and races of men

"And others there be in Ethiopia, and each of them have only one foot, so great and so large that they beshadow themselves with the foot when they lie gasping on the ground in strong heat of the sun; and yet they be so swift that they be likened to hounds in swiftness of running, and therefore among the Greeks they be called Cynopodes. Also some have the soles of their feet turned backward behind the legs, and in each foot eight toes, and such go about and stare in the desert of Lybia."

Two old subjects of study were revived and received great attention in Europe from the thirteenth century onwards until recent times. These were *astrology* and *alchemy*.

Astrology was based on the belief that the planets influence the make-up of men and consequently their fate. Following an idea of the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, it was believed that all things were compounded of "the four elements" earth, air, fire, and water. Each person was a particular mixture of these four elements, and the position of the planets at the time of his birth was supposed to influence his mixture or "temperament."

Astrology

By knowing a person's temperament one could judge what he ought to do in order to be successful in life, and what he should

avoid. For example, if one were born under the influence of Venus he should be on his guard against violent love and should choose for a trade something connected with dress or adornment; if he were born under Mars he might make armor or horseshoes or become a successful soldier. Many common words are really astrological terms, such as "ill-starred," "disastrous," "jovial," "saturnine," "mercurial" (derived from the names of the planets). Astrology was taught in the universities because it was supposed to be necessary for physicians to choose times when the stars were favorable for particular kinds of medical treatment.

Alchemy

Alchemy was chemistry directed toward the discovery of a method of turning the baser metals, like lead and copper, into gold and silver. The alchemists, even if they did not succeed in their chief aim, learned a great deal incidentally in their laboratories, and finally our modern chemistry emerged from alchemy. Like astrology, alchemy goes back to ancient times, and the people of the thirteenth century got most of their ideas through the Mohammedans, who had in turn got theirs from the Greek books on the subjects.

Medieval Universities and Studies

50. All European countries now have excellent schools, colleges, and universities. These had their beginning in the later Middle Ages. With the incoming of the barbarian Germans and the break-up of the Roman Empire, education largely disappeared and for hundreds of years there was nothing in western Europe, outside of Italy and Spain, corresponding to our universities and colleges. Some of the schools which the bishops and abbots had established in accordance with Charlemagne's commands (see above, p. 85) were, it is true, maintained all through the dark and disorderly times which followed his death. But the little that we know of the instruction offered in them would indicate that it was very elementary.

Abelard, d. 1142

About the year 1100 an ardent young man named Abelard started out from his home in Brittany to visit all the places where he might hope to receive instruction in logic and philosophy, in which, like all his learned contemporaries, he was especially interested. He reports that he found teachers in several of the French towns, particularly in Paris, who were attracting large numbers of students to listen to their lectures upon logic, rhetoric, and theology. Abelard soon showed his superiority to his teachers by defeating them several times in debate. So he began lecturing on his own account, and such was his success that thousands of students flocked to hear him.

Abelard did not found the University of Paris, as has sometimes been supposed, but he did a great deal to make the discussions of theological problems popular, and by his attractive method of teaching he greatly increased the number of those who wished to study.

Origin of the University of Paris

Before the end of the twelfth century the teachers had become so numerous in Paris that they formed a union, or guild, for the advancement of their interests. This union of professors was called by the usual name for corporations in the Middle Ages, *universitas*; hence our word "university." The king and the pope both favored the university and granted the teachers and students many of the privileges of the clergy, a class to which they were regarded as belonging, because learning had for so many centuries been confined to the clergy.

Study of the Roman and canon law in Bologna

About the time that we find the beginnings of a university or guild of professors at Paris, another great institution of learning was growing up at Bologna. Here the chief attention was given, not to theology, as at Paris, but to the study of the law, both Roman and church (canon) law. Students began to stream to Bologna in greater and greater numbers. In order to protect themselves in a town where they were regarded as strangers, they also organized themselves into unions, which became so powerful that they were able to force the professors to obey the rules which they laid down.

Other universities founded

The University of Oxford was founded in the time of Henry II, probably by English students and masters who had become discontented at Paris for some reason. The University of Cambridge, as well as numerous universities in France, Italy, and Spain, were founded in the thirteenth century. The German universities, which are still so famous, were established somewhat later, most of them in the latter half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century. The northern institutions generally took the great mother university on the Seine as their model, while those in southern Europe usually adopted the methods of Bologna.

The academic degree

When, after some years of study, a student was examined by the professors, he was, if successful, admitted to the corporation of teachers and became a *master* himself. What we call a *degree* to-day was originally, in the medieval universities, nothing more than the right to teach; but in the thirteenth century many who did not care to become professors in our sense of the word began to desire the honorable title of *master* or *doctor* (which is only the Latin word for "teacher").[1]

Simple methods of instruction

The students in the medieval universities were of all ages, from thirteen to forty, and even older. There were no university buildings, and in Paris the lectures were given in the Latin Quarter, in Straw Street, so called from the straw strewn on the floors of the hired rooms where the lecturer explained the textbook, with the students squatting on the floor before him. There were no laboratories, for there was no experimentation. All that was required was a copy of the textbook. This the lecturer explained sentence by sentence, and the students listened and sometimes took notes.

The most striking peculiarity of the instruction in the medieval university was the supreme deference paid to Aristotle. Most

[1] The origin of the bachelor's degree, which comes at the end of our college course nowadays, may be explained as follows: The bachelor in the thirteenth century was a student who had passed part of his examinations in the course in "arts," as the college course was then called, and was permitted to teach certain elementary subjects before he became a full-fledged master. So the A.B. was inferior to the A.M. then as now.

Aristotle's works become known in the West

of the courses of lectures were devoted to the explanation of some one of his numerous treatises — his *Physics*, his *Metaphysics*, his treatises on logic, his *Ethics*, his minor works upon the soul, heaven and earth, etc. Only his *Logic* had been known to Abelard, as all his other works had been forgotten. But early in the thirteenth century all his comprehensive contributions to science reached the West, either from Constantinople or through the Arabs, who had brought them to Spain. The Latin translations were bad and obscure, and the lecturer had enough to do to give some meaning to them, to explain what the Arab philosophers had said of them, and, finally, to reconcile them to the teachings of Christianity.

Veneration for Aristotle

Aristotle was, of course, a pagan. He was uncertain whether the soul continued to exist after death; he had never heard of the Bible and knew nothing of the salvation of man through Christ. One would have supposed that he would have been promptly rejected with horror by the ardent Christian believers of the Middle Ages. But the teachers of the thirteenth century were fascinated by his logic and astonished at his learning. The great theologians of the time, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), did not hesitate to prepare elaborate commentaries upon all his works. He was called "The Philosopher"; and so fully were scholars convinced that it had pleased God to permit Aristotle to say the last word upon each and every branch of knowledge that they humbly accepted him, along with the Bible, the church fathers, and the canon and Roman law, as one of the unquestioned authorities which together formed a complete guide for humanity in conduct and in every branch of science.

Scholasticism

The term "scholasticism" is commonly given to the beliefs and method of discussion of the medieval professors. To those who later outgrew the fondness for logic and the supreme respect for Aristotle, scholasticism, with its neglect of Greek and Roman literature, came to seem an arid and profitless plan of education. Yet, if we turn over the pages of the wonderful works of

Thomas Aquinas, we see that the scholastic philosopher might be a person of extraordinary insight and learning, ready to recognize all the objections to his position and able to express himself with great clearness and cogency.[1] The training in logic, if it did not increase the sum of human knowledge, accustomed the student to make careful distinctions and present his arguments in an orderly way.

Course of study

No attention was given to the great subject of history in the medieval universities, nor was Greek taught. Latin had to be learned in order to carry on the work at all, but little time was given to the Roman classics. The new modern languages were considered entirely unworthy of the learned. It must, of course, be remembered that none of the books which we consider the great classics in English, French, Italian, or Spanish had as yet been written.

Petrarch tries to learn Greek

Although the medieval professors paid the greatest respect to the Greek philosopher Aristotle and made Latin translations of his works the basis of the college course, very few of them could read any Greek and none of them knew much about Homer or Plato or the Greek tragedians and historians. In the fourteenth century Petrarch (1304–1374) set the example in Italy of carefully collecting all the writings of the Romans, which he greatly admired. He made an unsuccessful effort to learn Greek, for he found that Cicero and other Roman writers were constantly referring with enthusiasm to the Greek books to which they owed so much.

Chrysoloras begins to teach Greek in Florence, 1396

Petrarch had not the patience or opportunity to master Greek, but twenty years after his death a learned Greek prelate from Constantinople, named Chrysoloras, came to Florence and found pupils eager to learn his language so that they could read the Greek books. Soon Italian scholars were going to Constantinople to carry on their studies, just as the Romans in Cicero's time had gone to Athens. They brought back copies of all the

[1] An example of the scholastic method of reasoning of Thomas Aquinas may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 6.

ancient writers that they could find, and by 1430 Greek books were once more known in the West, after a thousand years of neglect.

Greek manuscripts brought to Italy

In this way western Europe caught up with ancient times; scholars could once more know all that the Greeks and Romans had known and could read in the original the works of Homer, Sophocles, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and other philosophers, historians, orators, and tragedians. Those who devoted their lives to a study of the literature of Greece and Rome were called *Humanists*. The name is derived from the Latin word *humanitas*, which means "culture." In time the colleges gave up the exclusive study of Aristotle and substituted a study of the Greek and Latin literature, and in this way what is known as our "classical" course of study originated.

The Humanists

Beginnings of Modern Inventions

51. So long, however, as intellectual men confined themselves to studying the old books of Greece and Rome they were not likely to advance beyond what the Greeks and Romans had known. In order to explain modern discoveries and inventions we have to take account of those who began to suspect that Aristotle was ignorant and mistaken upon many important matters, and who set to work to examine things about them with the hope of finding out more than any one had ever known before.

Even in the thirteenth century there were a few scholars who criticized the habit of relying upon Aristotle for all knowledge. The most distinguished faultfinder was Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan monk (d. about 1290), who declared that even if Aristotle were very wise he had only planted the tree of knowledge and that this had "not as yet put forth all its branches nor produced all its fruits." "If we could continue to live for endless centuries we mortals could never hope to reach full and complete knowledge of all the things which are to be known. No one knows enough of nature completely to describe the

Roger Bacon's attack on scholasticism

peculiarities of a single fly and give the reason for its color and why it has just so many feet, no more and no less." Bacon held that truth could be reached a hundred thousand times better by experiments with real things than by poring over the bad Latin translations of Aristotle. "If I had my way," he declared, "I should burn all the books of Aristotle, for the study of them can only lead to a loss of time, produce error and increase ignorance."

Bacon foresees great inventions

Roger Bacon declared that if men would only study common things instead of reading the books of the ancients, science would outdo the wonders which people of his day thought could be produced by magic. He said that in time men would be able to fly, would have carriages which needed no horses to draw them and ships which would move swiftly without oars, and that bridges could be built without piers to support them.

All this and much more has come true, but inventors and modern scientists owe but little to the books of the Greeks and Romans, which the scholastic philosophers and the Humanists relied upon. Although the Greek philosophers devoted considerable attention to natural science, they were not much inclined to make long and careful experiments or to invent anything like the microscope or telescope to help them. They knew very little indeed about the laws of nature and were sadly mistaken upon many points. Aristotle thought that the sun and all the stars revolved about the earth and that the heavenly bodies were perfect and unchangeable. He believed that heavy bodies fell faster than light ones and that all earthly things were made of the four elements — earth, air, water, and fire. The Greeks and Romans knew nothing of the compass, or gunpowder, or the printing press, or the uses to which steam can be put. Indeed, they had scarcely anything that we should call a machine.

Discoveries of the thirteenth century

The thirteenth century witnessed certain absolutely new achievements in the history of mankind. The compass began to be utilized in a way to encourage bolder and bolder ventures out upon the ocean (see above, section 46). The properties of the lens were discovered, and before the end of the century

spectacles are mentioned. The lens made the later telescope, microscope, spectroscope, and camera possible, upon which so much of our modern science depends. The Arabic numerals began to take the place of the awkward Roman system of using letters. One cannot well divide XLVIII by VIII, but he can easily divide 48 by 8. Roger Bacon knew of the explosive nature of a compound of sulphur, saltpeter, and charcoal, and a generation after his death gunpowder began to be used a little for guns and artillery. A document is still preserved referring to the making of brass cannon and balls in Florence in the year 1326. By 1350 powder works were in existence in at least three German towns, and French and English books refer now and then to its use.

Arabic numerals

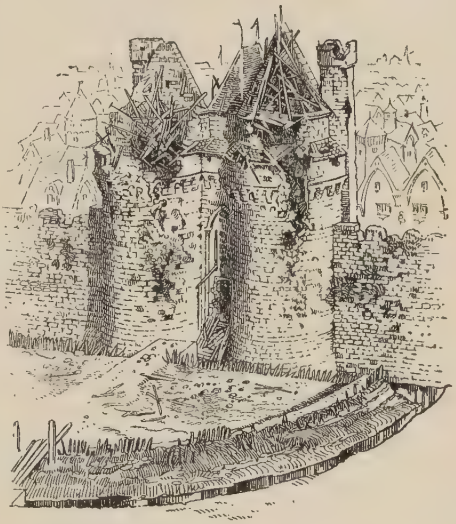


Fig. 69. Effects of Cannon on a Medieval Castle

At least a hundred and fifty years elapsed, however, before gunpowder really began to supplant the old ways of fighting with bows and arrows and axes and lances. By the year 1500 it was becoming clear that the old stone castles were insufficient protection against cannon, and a new type of unprotected castle began to be erected as residences of the kings and the nobility (see below, p. 276). Gunpowder has done away with armor, bows and arrows, spears and javelins, castles and walled towns.

It may be that sometime some such fearfully destructive compound may be discovered, that the nations may decide to give up war altogether as too dangerous and terrible a thing to resort to under any circumstances.

Advantages of printing with movable type

The inventions of the compass, of the lens, and of gunpowder have helped to revolutionize the world. To these may be added the printing press, which has so facilitated and encouraged reading that it is nowadays rare to find anybody who cannot read.

The Italian classical scholars of the fifteenth century succeeded, as we have seen (pp. 254–255, above), in arousing a new interest in the books of the Greeks as well as of the Romans. They carefully collected every ancient work that they could lay hands on, made copies of it, edited it, and if it was in Greek, translated it into Latin. While they were in the midst of this work certain patient experimenters in Germany and Holland were turning their attention to a new way of multiplying books rapidly and cheaply by the use of lead type and a press.

Excellent work of medieval copyists

The Greeks and Romans and the people of the Middle Ages knew no other method of obtaining a new copy of a book except by writing it out laboriously by hand. The professional copyists were incredibly dexterous with their quills, as may be seen in Fig. 70 — a page from a Bible of the thirteenth century which is reproduced in its original size.[1] The letters are

[1] On pages 260 and 261 are reproductions, exactly the size of the original, of two pages in a manuscript Bible of the thirteenth century (in Latin) belonging to the library of Columbia University. The first of the two was chosen to illustrate the minuteness and perfection of the best work; the second to show irregularities and mistakes due to negligence or lack of skill in the copyists.

The first of the two pages is taken from 1 Maccabees i, 56–ii, 65 (a portion of the Scriptures not usually included in the Protestant Bibles). It begins, "... ditis fugitivorum locis. Die quintadecima mensis Caslev, quinto et quadragesimo et centesimo anno aedificavit rex Antiochus abominandum idolum desolationis super altare Dei; et per universas civitates Juda in circitu aedificaverunt aras et ante januas domorum, et in plateis incendebant thura, et sacrificabant et libros legis Dei com[busserunt]." The scribes used a good many abbreviations, as was the custom of the time, and what is transcribed here fills five lines of the manuscript.

The second less perfect page here reproduced is from the prophet Amos, iii, 9–vii, 16. It begins, "vinearum vestrarum: oliveta vestra et ficeta vestra comedit eruca et non redistis ad me, dicit Dominus."

Page from a Book of Hours, Fifteenth Century
(Original Size)

Illuminated manuscripts

as clear, small, and almost as regular as if they had been printed. The whole volume containing the Old and New Testaments is about the size of this book. After the scribe had finished his work the volume was often turned over to the *illuminator*, who would put in gay illuminated initials and sometimes page borders, which were delightful in design and color.[1] Books designed to be used in the church services were adorned with pictures as well as with ornamented initials and decorative borders. Plate VIII is a reproduction of a page from a Book of Hours in the library of Columbia University. It is the same size as the original.

Slow process of copying by hand

The written books were, in short, often both compact and beautiful, but they were never cheap or easily produced in great numbers. When Cosimo, the father of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wished to form a library just before the invention of printing, he applied to a contractor who engaged forty-five copyists. By working hard for nearly two years they were able to produce only two hundred volumes for the new library.

Errors of copyists

Moreover, it was impossible before the invention of printing to have two copies of the same work exactly alike. Even with the greatest care a scribe could not avoid making some mistakes, and a careless copyist was sure to make a great many. The universities required their students to report immediately any mistakes discovered in their textbooks, in order that the error might not be reproduced in another copy and so lead to a misunderstanding of the author. With the invention of printing it became possible to produce in a short time a great many copies of a given book which were exactly alike. Consequently, if sufficient care was taken to see that the types were properly set, the whole edition, not simply a single copy, might be relied upon as correct.

[1] The word "miniature," which is often applied to them, is derived from *minium*, that is, vermilion, which was one of the favorite colors. Later the word came to be applied to anything small.

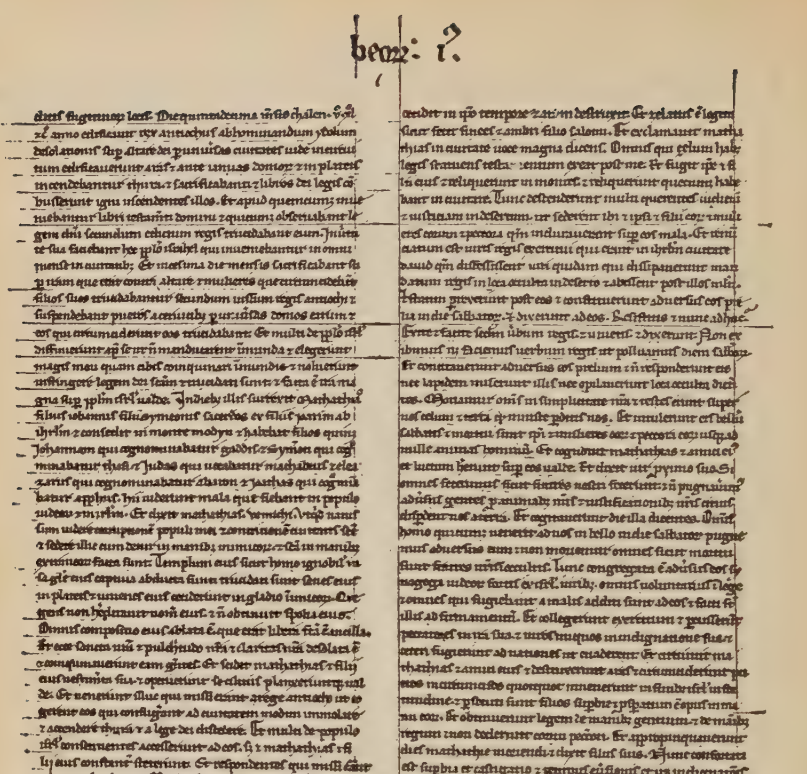


FIG. 70. PAGE FROM A COPY OF THE BIBLE MADE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING PERFECTION OF THE BEST WORK (see note p. 258)

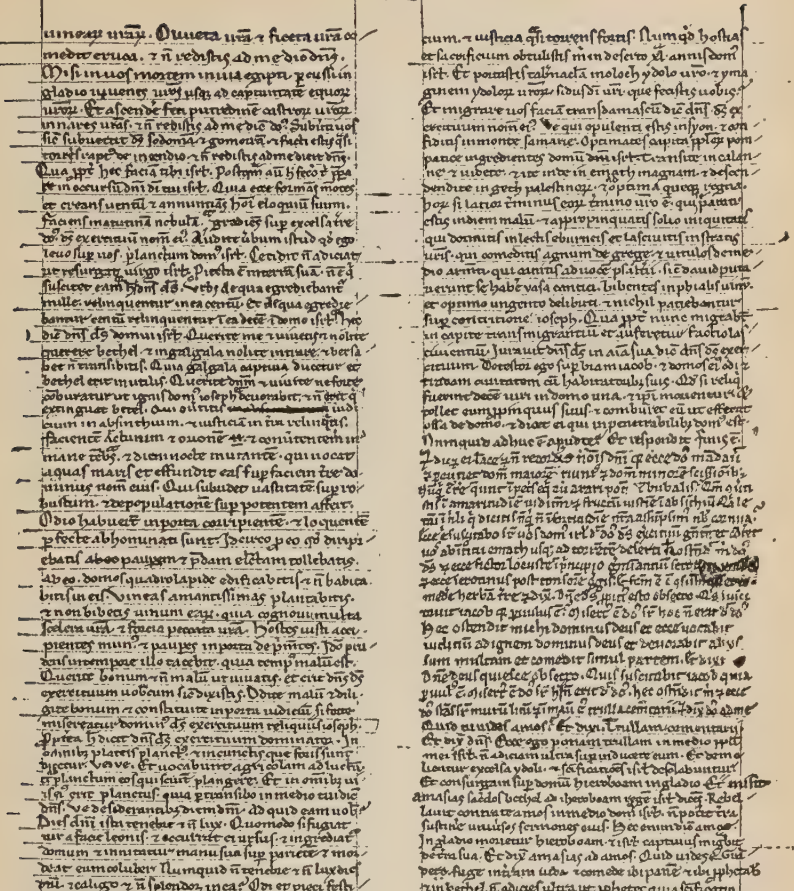


FIG. 71. ANOTHER PAGE FROM THE SAME VOLUME FROM WHICH THE PAGE OPPOSITE IS TAKEN, SHOWING IMPERFECTIONS AND MISTAKES OF POOR COPYISTS

Paper introduced in western Europe

After the supply of papyrus — the paper of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans — was cut off from Europe by the conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedans the people of the Middle Ages used *parchment*, made from the skin of lambs and goats. This was so expensive that printing would have been of but little use, even if it had been thought

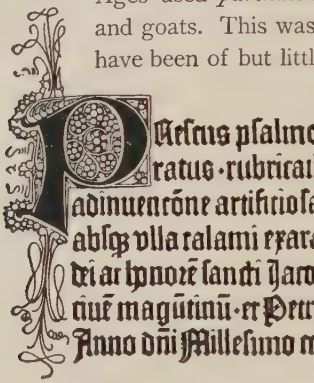

Psalmorum codex: venustate capitaliū decoratus · rubricationibusq; sufficienter distinctus · adinuentione artificiosa imprimendi ac caracterizandi: absq; vlla calami exaratione sic effigiatus · et ad laudem dei altissimi · et honorē sancti Jacobi est consummatus. Per Johem fust ciuē magūtinū · et Petrū Schoiffher de gernsheym clericū · Anno dñi Millesimo cccc · lix · exx · die · mensis Augusti,

Fig. 72. Closing Lines of the Psalter of 1459 (Much reduced)

The closing lines (that is, the so-called *colophon*) of the second edition of the Psalter, which are here reproduced, are substantially the same as those of the first edition. They may be translated as follows: "The present volume of the Psalms, which is adorned with handsome capitals and is clearly divided by means of rubrics, was produced not by writing with a pen but by an ingenious invention of printed characters; and was completed to the glory of God and the honor of St. James by John Fust, a citizen of Mayence, and Peter Schoifher of Gernsheim, in the year of our Lord 1459, on the 29th of August"

of, before paper was introduced into Europe by the Mohammedans.[1] Paper began to become common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and was already replacing parchment before the invention of printing.

The earliest printed books

The earliest book of any considerable size to be printed was the Bible, which appears to have been completed at Mayence in the year 1456. A year later the famous Mayence Psalter was finished, the first dated book (Fig. 72). There are, however, earlier

[1] The Arabs seem to have derived their knowledge of paper-making from the Chinese.

examples of little books printed with engraved blocks and even with movable types. In the German towns, where the art spread rapidly, the printers adhered to the style of letters which the scribe had found it convenient to make with his quill — the so-called *Gothic*, or black letter. In Italy, however, where the first printing press was set up in 1466, a type was soon adopted which resembled the letters used in ancient Roman inscriptions. This was quite similar to the style of letter commonly used to-day. The Italians also invented the compressed *italic* type, which enabled them to get a great many words on a page. The early printers generally did their work conscientiously, and the very first book printed is in most respects as well done as any later book.

Black letter

FIG. 73. AN OLD-FASHIONED PRINTING OFFICE

Until the nineteenth century printing was carried on with very little machinery. The type was inked by hand, then the paper laid on and the form slipped under a wooden press operated by hand by means of a lever

By the year 1500, after printing had been used less than half a century, there appear to have been at least forty printing presses to be found in various towns of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and England. These presses had, it is estimated, already printed eight millions of volumes. So there was no longer any danger of the old books being again lost, and the encouragement to write and publish new books was greatly increased. From that date our sources for history become far more voluminous

than those which exist for the previous history of the world; we are much better informed in regard to events and conditions since 1500 than we ever can be respecting those of the earlier periods.

The Art of the Renaissance

Development of art in Italy

52. We have already described briefly the work of the mediæval architects and referred to the beautiful carvings that adorned the Gothic cathedrals and to the pictures of saints and angels in stained glass which filled the great church windows. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries art developed in a most astonishing manner in Italy and set new standards for all of western Europe.

Florence the art center of Italy

Florence was the great center of artistic activity during the fifteenth century. The greatest sculptors and almost all of the most famous painters and architects of the time either were natives of Florence or did their best work there. During the first half of the century sculpture again took the lead. The bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence by Ghiberti, which were completed in 1452, are among the finest products of Renaissance sculpture (see illustration).[1]

Rome becomes the center of artistic activity

Florence reached the height of its preëminence as an art center during the reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was a devoted patron of all the arts. With his death (1492), this preëminence passed to Rome, which was fast becoming one of the great capitals of Europe. The art-loving popes, Julius II and Leo X, took pains to secure the services of the most distinguished artists and architects of the time in the building and adornment of St. Peter's and the Vatican; that is, the papal church and palace (see above, p. 231).

[1] Opposite the cathedral at Florence (Fig. 67) stands the ancient baptistery. Its northern bronze doors, with ten scenes from the Bible, surrounded by a very lovely border of foliage, birds, and animals, were completed by Lorenzo Ghiberti in 1452, after many years of labor. Michael Angelo declared them worthy to be the gates of heaven.

GHIBERTI'S DOORS AT FLORENCE

HOLY FAMILY BY ANDREA DEL SARTO

Height of Renaissance art — Da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael

During the sixteenth century the art of the Renaissance reached its highest development. Among all the great artists of this period three stand out in heroic proportions — Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raphael. The first two not only practiced, but achieved distinction in, the three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting.[1] It is impossible to give in a few lines any idea of the beauty and significance of the work of these great geniuses. Both Raphael and Michael Angelo left behind them so many and such magnificent frescoes and paintings, and in the case of Michael Angelo statues as well, that it is easy to appreciate their importance. Leonardo, on the other hand, left but little completed work. His influence on the art of his time, which was probably greater than that of either of the others, came from his many-sidedness, his originality, and his unflagging interest in the discovery and application of new methods. He was almost more experimenter than artist.

The Venetian school

While Florence could no longer boast of being the art center of Italy, it still produced great artists, among whom Andrea del Sarto may be especially mentioned (see illustration). But the most important center of artistic activity outside of Rome in the sixteenth century was Venice. The distinguishing characteristic of the Venetian pictures is their glowing color. This is strikingly exemplified in the paintings of Titian, the most famous of all the Venetian painters.[2]

Titian (1477–1576)

Painting in northern Europe

It was natural that artists from the northern countries should be attracted by the renown of the Italian masters and, after learning all that Italy could teach them, should return home to practice their art in their own particular fashion. About a century after painting began to develop in Italy two Flemish brothers, Van Eyck by name, showed that they were not only able to paint quite as excellent pictures as the Italians of their day, but they also discovered a new way of mixing their colors superior to that employed in Italy. Later, when painting had reached its height in Italy, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the

Dürer (1471–1528)

[1] Leonardo was engineer and inventor as well.

[2] See Fig. 74.

Younger[1] in Germany vied with even Raphael and Michael Angelo in the mastery of their art. Dürer is especially celebrated for his wonderful woodcuts and copperplate engravings, in which field he has perhaps never been excelled.[2]

Rubens (1577–1640) and Rembrandt (1607–1669)

When, in the seventeenth century, painting had declined south of the Alps, Dutch and Flemish masters — above all, Rubens and Rembrandt — developed a new and admirable school of painting.

Van Dyck (1599–1641) and his portraits

To Van Dyck, another Flemish master, we owe many noble portraits of historically important persons.[3]

Velasquez

Spain gave to the world in the seventeenth century a painter whom some would rank higher than even the greatest artists of Italy, namely, Velasquez (1599–1660). His genius, like that of Van Dyck, is especially conspicuous in his marvelous portraits.

QUESTIONS

Section 47. Why was Latin used by learned men, churchmen, scholars, and lawyers in the Middle Ages? What is the origin of the Germanic languages? of the Romance tongues? When does English become sufficiently modern for us to read it easily without special study? What is the character of the French romances of the Middle Ages?

Section 48. Who were the troubadours? Describe chivalry and the ideal knight.

Section 49. Why did people know little of history in the Middle Ages? Give some examples of the beliefs in regard to the habits of animals and the existence of strange races of men. What value was supposed to come from studying the habits of animals? Define astrology. What words do we use that recall the beliefs of the Middle Ages in regard to the influence of the stars on man? What was alchemy?

Section 50. Who was Abelard? What was a "university" originally? Mention some early universities. What was the origin of our degrees? What subjects were studied in a medieval university? Why was Aristotle so venerated by the medieval scholars? What was scholasticism? How and when were Greek books again brought into western Europe? Who were the Humanists? Why did not the Humanists make any discoveries?

[1] See below, Fig. 78. [2] See below, Fig. 80. [3] See below, Figs. 96 and 98.

SECTION 51. Why did Roger Bacon criticize the enthusiasm for Aristotle? What great inventions did he foresee? What great new discoveries were made in the thirteenth century?

What effects did the introduction of gunpowder have? How were books made before the invention of printing? What are the disadvantages of a book copied by hand? What is the earliest large printed book? How rapidly did printing spread? What do you consider the chief effects of the introduction of printing?

SECTION 52. Say something of the chief artists of the Renaissance in Italy and their work. Name some of the artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who lived outside of Italy.

CHAPTER XIII

EMPEROR CHARLES V AND HIS VAST REALMS

Emperor Maximilian and the Hapsburg Marriages

Charles V's empire

53. In the year 1500 a baby was born in the town of Ghent who was destined before he reached the age of twenty to rule, as Emperor Charles V, over more of Europe than any one since Charlemagne. He owed his vast empire not to any conquests of his own but to an extraordinary series of royal marriages which made him heir to a great part of western Europe. These marriages had been arranged by his grandfather, Maximilian I, one of the most successful match-makers that ever lived. Maximilian belonged to the House of Hapsburg, and in order to understand European history since 1500 we must learn something of Maximilian and the Hapsburg line.

Reasons why the German kings failed to establish a strong state

The German kings had failed to create a strong kingdom such as those over which Louis XI of France and Henry VII of England ruled. Their fine title of emperor had made them a great deal of trouble and done them no good, as we have seen.[1] Their attempts to keep Italy as well as Germany under their rule, and the alliance of the mighty bishop of Rome with their enemies had well-nigh ruined them. Their position was further weakened by the fact that their office was not strictly hereditary. Although the emperors were often succeeded by their sons, each new emperor had to be *elected*, and those great vassals who controlled the election naturally took care to bind the candidate by solemn promises not to interfere with their

[1] See above, sections 16, 28–32.

privileges and independence. The result was that, after the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, Germany fell apart into a great number of practically independent states, of which none were very large and some were extremely small.

Rudolf of Hapsburg gets possession of Austria

After an interregnum, Rudolf of Hapsburg had been chosen emperor in 1273 (see above, p. 164). The original seat of the Hapsburgs, who were destined to play such a great part in European affairs, was in northern Switzerland, where the vestiges of their original castle may still be seen. Rudolf was the first prominent member of the family; he established its position and influence by seizing the duchies of Austria and Styria, which became, under his successors, the nucleus of the extensive Austrian possessions.

The imperial title becomes practically hereditary in the House of Austria

About a century and a half after the death of Rudolf the German princes began regularly to choose as their emperor the ruler of the Austrian possessions, so that the imperial title became, to all intents and purposes, hereditary in the Hapsburg line. The Hapsburgs were, however, far more interested in adding to their family domains than in advancing the interests of the German Empire as a whole. Indeed, the Holy Roman Empire was nearly defunct and, in the memorable words of Voltaire, it had ceased to be either holy, or Roman, or an empire.

Maximilian, while still a very young man, married Mary of Burgundy, the heiress to the Burgundian realms, which included what we now call Holland and Belgium and portions of eastern France. In this way the House of Austria got a hold on the shores of the North Sea. Mary died in 1482 and her lands were inherited by her infant son, Philip. Maximilian's next matrimonial move was to arrange a marriage between his son Philip and Joanna, the heiress to the Spanish kingdoms, and this makes it necessary for us to turn a moment to Spain, of which little or nothing has been said since we saw how the kingdom of the Visigoths was overthrown by the Mohammedan invaders, over seven hundred years before Maximilian's time (section 14).

Arab civilization in Spain

The Mohammedan conquest served to make the history of Spain very different from that of the other states of Europe. One of its first and most important results was the conversion of a great part of the inhabitants to Mohammedanism. During the tenth century, which was so dark a period in the rest of Europe, the Arab civilization in Spain reached its highest development. The various elements in the population, Roman, Gothic, Arab, and Berber, appear to have been thoroughly amalgamated. Agriculture, industry, commerce, art, and the sciences made rapid progress. Cordova, with its half million of inhabitants, its stately palaces, its university, its three thousand mosques and three hundred public baths, was perhaps unrivaled at that period in the whole world. There were thousands of students at the University of Cordova at a time when, in the North, only clergymen had mastered even the simple arts of reading and writing. This brilliant civilization lasted, however, for hardly more than a hundred years. By the middle of the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova had fallen to pieces, and shortly afterwards the country was overrun by new invaders from Africa.

The rise of new Christian kingdoms in Spain

But the Christians were destined to reconquer the peninsula. As early as the year 1000[1] several small Christian kingdoms — Castile, Aragon, and Navarre — had come into existence in the northern part of Spain. Castile, in particular, began to push back the Mohammedans and, in 1085, reconquered Toledo from them. Aragon also widened its bounds by incorporating Barcelona and conquering the territory watered by the Ebro. By 1250 the long war of the Christians against the Mohammedans, which fills the medieval annals of Spain, had been so successfully prosecuted that Castile extended to the south coast and included the great towns of Cordova and Seville. The Christian kingdom of Portugal was already as large as it is to-day.

Granada and Castile

The Moors, as the Spanish Mohammedans were called, maintained themselves for two centuries more in the mountainous

[1] See map above, p. 146.

kingdom of Granada, in the southern part of the peninsula. During this period Castile, which was the largest of the Spanish kingdoms and embraced all the central part of the peninsula, was too much occupied by internal feuds and struggles over the crown to wage successful war against the Moorish kingdom to the south.

Marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon

The first Spanish monarch whose name need be mentioned here was Queen Isabella of Castile, who, in 1469, concluded an all-important marriage with Ferdinand, the heir of the crown of Aragon. It is with this union of Castile and Aragon that the great importance of Spain in European history begins. For the next hundred years Spain was to enjoy more military power than any other European state.

Granada, the last Moorish stronghold, falls

Ferdinand and Isabella undertook to complete the conquest of the peninsula, and in 1492, after a long siege, the city of Granada fell into their hands, and therewith the last vestige of Moorish domination disappeared.[1]

Spain's income from the New World enables her to become a European power

In the same year that the conquest of the peninsula was completed, the discoveries of Columbus, made under the auspices of Queen Isabella, opened up sources of undreamed-of wealth beyond the seas. The transient greatness of Spain in the sixteenth century is largely to be attributed to the riches which poured in from her American possessions. The shameless and cruel looting of the Mexican and Peruvian cities by Cortes and Pizarro (see above, p. 237), and the products of the silver mines of the New World, enabled Spain to assume, for a time, a position in Europe which her internal strength and normal resources would never have permitted.

Persecution of the Jews and Moors

Unfortunately, the most industrious, skillful, and thrifty among the inhabitants of Spain, that is, the Moors and the Jews, who well-nigh supported the whole kingdom with the products

[1] No one can gaze upon the great castle and palace of the Alhambra, which was built for the Moorish kings, without realizing what a high degree of culture the Moors had attained. Its beautiful and impressive arcades, its magnificent courts, and the delicate tracery of its arches represent the highest achievement of Arabic architecture (see illustration, p. 71).

The revival of the Inquisition

of their toil, were bitterly persecuted by the Christians. So anxious was Isabella to rid her kingdom of the infidels that she revived the court of the Inquisition.[1] For several decades its tribunals arrested and condemned innumerable persons who were suspected of heresy, and thousands were burned at the stake during this period. These wholesale executions have served to associate Spain especially with the horrors of the Inquisition. Finally, in 1609, a century after Isabella's death, the Moors were driven out of the country altogether. The persecution diminished or disheartened the most useful and enterprising portion of the Spanish people, and permanently crippled the country.

It was no wonder that the daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella seemed to Maximilian an admirable match for his son Philip. Philip died, however, in 1506, — six years after his eldest son Charles was born, — and his poor wife, Joanna, became insane with grief and was thus incapacitated for ruling. So Charles could look forward to an unprecedented accumulation of glorious titles as soon as his grandfathers, Maximilian of Austria and Ferdinand of Aragon, should pass away.[2] He was soon to be duke of Brabant, margrave of Antwerp, count of Holland, archduke of Austria, count of Tyrol, king of Castile, Aragon, and Naples,[3] and of the vast Spanish possessions in America — to mention a few of his more important titles.

[1] See above, pp. 189–190.

[2]

Austria	Burgundy	Castile (America)	Aragon	Naples, etc.
Maximilian I (d. 1519) =	Mary (d. 1482), dau. of Charles the Bold (d. 1477)	Isabella (d. 1504) =	Ferdinand (d. 1516)	
Philip (d. 1506) =		Joanna the Insane (d. 1555)		
Charles V (d. 1558) Emperor, 1519–1556		Ferdinand (d. 1564) = Emperor, 1556–1564	Anna, heiress to kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary	

[3] Naples and Sicily were in the hands of the king of Aragon at this time (p. 165).

Ferdinand died in 1516, and Charles, now a lad of sixteen, who had been born and reared in the Netherlands, was much bewildered when he first landed in his Spanish dominions. The Burgundian advisers whom he brought with him were distasteful

Charles and his Spanish possessions

FIG. 74. CHARLES V AT THE AGE OF 48, BY TITIAN

to the haughty Spaniards, to whom, of course, they were foreigners; suspicion and opposition awaited him in each of his several Spanish kingdoms, for he found by no means a united Spain. Each kingdom demanded special recognition of its rights and proposed important reforms before it would acknowledge Charles as its king.

Charles elected emperor, 1519

It seemed as if the boy would have his hands full in asserting his authority as the first "king of Spain"; nevertheless, a still more imposing title and still more perplexing responsibilities were to fall upon his shoulders before he was twenty years old. It had long been Maximilian's ambition that his grandson should succeed him upon the imperial throne. After his death, in 1519, the electors finally chose Charles as emperor — the fifth of that name — instead of the rival candidate, Francis I of France. By this election the king of Spain, who had not yet been in Germany and who never learned its language, became its ruler at a critical juncture, when the teachings of Luther (see next chapter) were adding a new kind of trouble to the old disorders.

How Italy became the Battleground of the European Powers

54. In order to understand the Europe of Charles V and the constant wars which occupied him all his life, we must turn back and review the questions which had been engaging the attention of his fellow kings before he came to the throne. It is particularly necessary to see clearly how Italy had suddenly become the center of commotion — the battlefield for Spain, France, and Germany.

Charles VIII of France invades Italy

Charles VIII of France (1483–1498) possessed little of the practical sagacity of his father, Louis XI (pp. 142–143). He dreamed of a mighty expedition against the Turks and of the conquest of Constantinople. As the first step he determined to lead an army into Italy and assert his claim, inherited from his father, to the kingdom of Naples, which was in the hands of the House of Aragon.[1] While Italy had everything to lose by

[1] It will be remembered that the popes, in their long struggle with Frederick II and the Hohenstaufens, finally called in Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, and gave to him both Naples and Sicily (see above, pp. 162 ff.). Sicily revolted in 1282 and was united with the kingdom of Aragon, which still held it when

permitting a powerful foreign monarch to get a foothold in the South, there was no probability that the various little states into which the peninsula was divided would lay aside their animosities and combine against the invader. On the contrary, Charles VIII was urged by some of the Italians themselves to come.

Savonarola and Charles VIII

Had Lorenzo the Magnificent still been alive, he might have organized a league to oppose the French king, but he had died in 1492, two years before Charles started. Lorenzo's sons failed to maintain the influence over the people of Florence which their father had enjoyed; and the leadership of the city fell into the hands of the Dominican friar, Savonarola, whose fervid preaching attracted and held for a time the attention of the fickle Florentine populace. He believed himself to be a prophet and proclaimed that God was about to scourge Italy for its iniquities.

Charles VIII in Florence

When Savonarola heard of the French invasion, it appeared to him that this was indeed the looked-for scourge of God, which might afflict, but would also purify, the Church. As Charles approached Florence, the people rose in revolt against the Medici, sacked their palaces, and drove out the three sons of Lorenzo. Savonarola became the chief figure in the new republic which was established.[1] Charles was admitted into Florence, but his ugly, insignificant figure disappointed the Florentines. They soon made it clear to him that they did not regard him in any sense as a conqueror, and would oppose a prolonged occupation by the French. So, after a week's stay, the French army left Florence and proceeded on its southward journey.

Charles V came to the Spanish throne. Naples also was conquered by the king of Aragon, and was in his family when Charles VIII undertook his Italian expedition. Louis XI, although he claimed the right of the French to rule in Naples, had prudently refused to attempt to oust the Aragonese usurpers, as he had quite enough to do at home.

[1] The fate of Savonarola was a tragic one. He lost the confidence of the Florentines and aroused the opposition of the pope. Three years after Charles VIII's visit he was accused of heresy and executed.

Attitude of the pope

The next power with which Charles had to deal was the pope, who ruled over the states of the Church. The pope was greatly perturbed when he realized that the French army was upon him. He naturally dreaded to have a foreign power in control of southern Italy just as his predecessors had dreaded the efforts of the Hohenstaufen to add Naples to their empire. He was unable, however, to oppose the French and they proceeded on their way.

Charles VIII leaves Italy unconquered

The success of the French king seemed marvelous, for even Naples speedily fell into his hands. But he and his troops were demoralized by the wines and other pleasures of the South, and meanwhile his enemies at last began to form a combination against him. Ferdinand of Aragon was fearful lest he might lose Sicily, and Emperor Maximilian objected to having the French control Italy. Charles's situation became so dangerous that he may well have thought himself fortunate, at the close of 1495, to escape, with the loss of only a single battle, from the country he had hoped to conquer.

Results of Charles's expedition

The results of Charles VIII's expedition appear at first sight trivial; in reality they were momentous. In the first place, it was now clear to Europe that the Italians had no real national feeling, however much they might despise the "barbarians" who lived north of the Alps. From this time down to the latter half of the nineteenth century, Italy was dominated by foreign nations, especially Spain and Austria. In the second place, the French learned to admire the art and culture of Italy (section 52). The nobles began to change their feudal castles, which since the invention of gunpowder were no longer impregnable, into luxurious palaces and country houses. The new scholarship of Italy also took root and flourished not only in France but in England and Germany as well, and Greek began to be studied outside of Italy. Consequently, just as Italy was becoming, politically, the victim of foreign aggressions, it was also losing, never to regain, that intellectual leadership which it had enjoyed since the revival of interest in Latin and Greek literature.

It would be wearisome and unprofitable to follow the attempts of the French to get a foothold in Milan. Suffice it to say that Charles VIII soon died and that his successor Louis XII laid claim to the duchy of Milan in the north as well as to Naples in the south. But he concluded to sell his claim to

FIG. 75. FRANCIS I

Naples to Ferdinand of Aragon and centered his attention on holding Milan, but did not succeed in his purpose, largely owing to the opposition of the Pope.

Francis I, who came to the French throne in 1515 at the age of twenty, is one of the most famous of the French kings. He was gracious and chivalrous in his ideas of conduct, and his proudest title was "the gentleman king." Like his contemporaries, Pope Leo X, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Henry VIII of England, he helped artists and men of letters and was interested in fine buildings (Fig. 76).

Francis I in Italy

Francis opened his reign by a very astonishing victory. He led his troops into Italy over a pass which had hitherto been regarded as impracticable for cavalry and defeated the Swiss — who were in the Pope's pay — at Marignano. He then

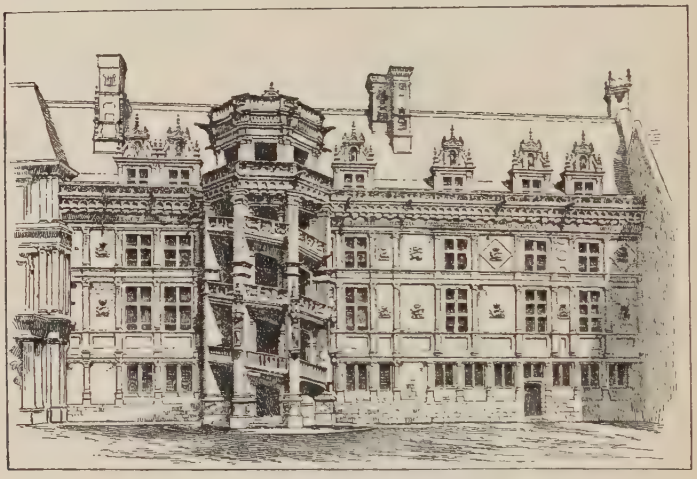


FIG. 76. COURT OF THE PALACE AT BLOIS

The expedition of Charles VIII to Italy called the attention of French architects to the beautiful Renaissance style used there. As cannon had by this time begun to render the old kind of castles with thick walls and towers useless as a means of defense, the French kings began to construct magnificent palaces of which several still exist. Charles VIII's successor, Louis XII, began a handsome structure at Blois, on the Loire River, and Francis I added a wing, the inner side of which is here reproduced. Its magnificent open staircase and wide, high windows have little in common with the old donjons of feudal times

occupied Milan and opened negotiations with Leo X, who was glad to make terms with the victorious young king. The pope agreed that Francis should retain Milan, and Francis on his part acceded to Leo's plan for turning over Florence once more to the Medici, of which family the pope himself was a member. This was done, and some years later this wonderful republic

The republic of Florence becomes the grand duchy of Tuscany

25°
20°
15°
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES IS.
Bergen
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Glasgow
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
Waterford
Gloucester
Severn
Oxford
London
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Cherbourg
Brest
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
Paris
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Garonne
Toulouse
Lyon
Rhone
Avignon
Toulon
Nice
Genoa
Milan
Turin
Verona
Venice
Florence
Siena
Rome
Naples
Cagliari
Palermo
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
Berlin
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
Cologne
Leipzig
Aix-la-Chapelle
Frankfurt
Speyer
Strasbourg
Augsburg
Salzburg
Tyrol
Swiss Confederation
Rhine
Ems
Weser
Hanover
Brunswick
Prague
Bohemia
Carniola
Carinthia
Styria
Trieste
Ancona
Barcelona
Tortosa
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Ivica
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Corsica
Tarragona
Zaragoza
Ebro
Madrid
Toledo
Tagus
Alcantara
Lisbon
Portugal
Oporto
Coimbra
Douro
Leon
Oviedo
S. Jago C.
Biscay
Burgos
Navarre
Languedoc
Provence
Dauphiny
Alicante
Cordoba
Seville
Granada
Jaen
Murcia
Cadiz
Malaga
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
Malta
KM. OF NORWAY
KM. OF DENMARK
KM. OF HOLLAND
KM. OF BELGIUM
KM. OF BOHEMIA
KM. OF SARDINIA
KM. OF SICILY
KM. OF FEZ
KM. OF TUNIS
KM. OF ORAN
KM. OF ALGIERS
KM. OF TRIPOLI
KM. OF SPAIN
KM. OF PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN
Longitude 5° West from Greenwich 0°
5°
10°
15°

20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Stockholm
MUSCOVITE EMPIRE
RUSSIA
KAZAN
Moscow
(RUSSIA)
KHANATE OF
TEUTONIC ORDER
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
Smolensk
SIBERIA
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
UKRAINE
Terr. of the COSSACKS
VEDISON
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
SEA OF AZOV
TCHERKESSIA (Circassia)
WALLACHIA
Danube
Nicopolis
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
Sinope
Trebizond
ARMENIA
PERSIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
MACEDONIA
Brusa
ALBANIA
Smyrna
Athens
MORÉA
ZANTE
RHODES
N SEA
EUROPE
about the middle of the
SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Hapsburg Possessions
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
20° from Greenwich 25°
30°
35°
40°

became the grand duchy of Tuscany, governed by a line of petty princes under whom its former glories were never renewed.

Sources of discord between France and the Hapsburgs

Friendly relations existed at first between the two young sovereigns, Francis I and Charles V, but there were several circumstances which led to an almost incessant series of wars between them. France was clamped in between the northern and southern possessions of Charles, and had at that time no natural boundaries. Moreover, there was a standing dispute over portions of the Burgundian realms, for both Charles and Francis claimed the *duchy* of Burgundy and also the neighboring *county* of Burgundy — commonly called Franche-Comté (see accompanying map). Charles also believed that, through his grandfather, Maximilian, he was entitled to Milan, which the French kings had set their hearts upon retaining. For a generation the rivals fought over these and other matters, and the wars between Charles and Francis were but the prelude to a conflict lasting over two centuries between France and the overgrown power of the House of Hapsburg.

Henry VIII of England, 1509–1547

In the impending struggle it was natural that both monarchs should try to gain the aid of the king of England, whose friendship was of the greatest importance to each of them, and who was by no means loath to take a hand in European affairs. Henry VIII had succeeded his father, Henry VII, in 1509 at the age of eighteen. Like Francis, he was good-looking and graceful, and in his early years made a very happy impression upon those who came in contact with him. He gained much popularity by condemning to death the two men who had been most active in extorting the "benevolences" which his father had been wont to require of unwilling givers. With a small but important class, his learning brought him credit. He married, for his first wife, an aunt of Charles V, Catherine of Aragon, and chose as his chief adviser Thomas Wolsey, whose career and sudden downfall were to be strangely associated with the fate of the unfortunate Spanish princess.[1]

[1] See below, pp. 315–317.

Charles V goes to Germany

In 1520 Charles V started for Germany to receive the imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. On his way he landed in England with the purpose of keeping Henry from forming an alliance with Francis. He judged the best means to be that of freely bribing Wolsey, who had been made a cardinal by Leo X, and who was all-powerful with Henry. Charles therefore bestowed on the cardinal a large annuity in addition to one which he had granted him somewhat earlier. He then set sail for the Netherlands, where he was duly crowned king of the Romans. From there he proceeded, for the first time, to Germany, where he summoned his first diet at Worms.

Condition of Germany when Charles V became Emperor

Germany of to-day

55. To us to-day, Germany means the German Empire, one of the three or four best organized and most powerful of the European states. It is a compact federation, somewhat like that of the United States, made up of twenty-two monarchies and three little city-republics. Each member of the union manages its local affairs, but leaves all questions of national importance to be settled by the central government at Berlin. This federation is, however, less than half a century old.

The "Germanies" of the sixteenth century

In the time of Charles V there was no such Germany as this, but only what the French called the "Germanies"; that is, two or three hundred states, which differed greatly from one another in size and character. This one had a duke, that a count, at its head, while others were ruled over by archbishops, bishops, or abbots. There were many cities, like Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Cologne, which were just as independent as the great duchies of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony. Lastly there were the knights, whose possessions might consist of no more than a single strong castle with a wretched village lying at its foot.

Weakness of the Emperor

As for the emperor, he no longer had any power to control his vassals. He could boast of unlimited pretensions and great

traditions, but he had neither money nor soldiers. At the time of Luther's birth the poverty-stricken Frederick III (Maximilian's father) might have been seen picking up a free meal at a monastery or riding behind a slow but economical ox team. The real power in Germany lay in the hands of the more important vassals.

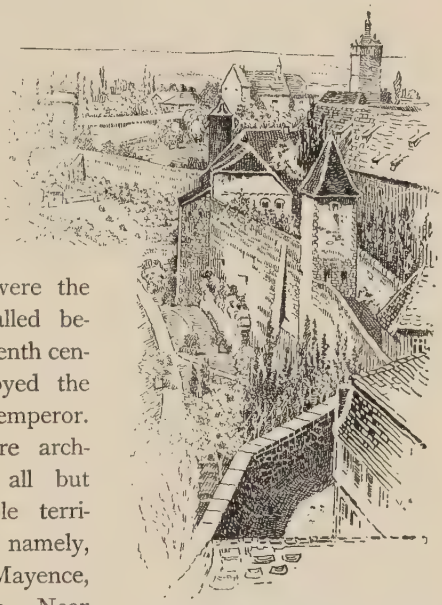


FIG. 77. THE WALLS OF ROTHENBURG

One town in Germany, Rothenburg, on the little river Tauber, once a free imperial city, retains its old walls and towers intact and many of its old houses. It gives the visitor an excellent idea of how the smaller imperial towns looked two or three hundred years ago

First and foremost among these were the seven *electors*, so called because, since the thirteenth century, they had enjoyed the right to elect the emperor. Three of them were archbishops — kings in all but name of considerable territories on the Rhine, namely, the electorates of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. Near them, to the south, was the region ruled over by the elector of the Palatinate; to the northeast were the territories of the electors of Brandenburg and of Saxony; the king of Bohemia made the seventh of the group.

Beside these states, the dominions of other rulers scarcely less important than the electors appear on the map. Some of these territories, like Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden, are familiar to us to-day as members

of the present German Empire, but all of them have been much enlarged since the sixteenth century by the absorption of the little states that formerly lay within and about them.

The towns

The towns, which had grown up since the great economic revolution that had brought in commerce and the use of money in the thirteenth century, were centers of culture in the north of Europe, just as those of Italy were in the south. Nuremberg, the most beautiful of the German cities, still possesses a great many of the extraordinary buildings and works of art which it produced in the sixteenth century. Some of the towns were immediate vassals of the emperor and were consequently independent of the particular prince within whose territory they were situated. These were called *free*, or *imperial*, cities and must be reckoned among the states of Germany (Fig. 77).

The knights, who ruled over the smallest of the German territories, had earlier formed a very important class, but the introduction of gunpowder and new methods of fighting put them at a disadvantage, for they clung to their medieval traditions. Their tiny realms were often too small to support them, and they frequently turned to robbery for a living and proved a great nuisance to the merchants and townspeople whom they plundered now and then.

No central power to maintain order

It is clear that these states, little and big, all tangled up with one another, would be sure to have disputes among themselves which would have to be settled in some way. The emperor was not powerful enough to keep order, and the result was that each

Neighborhood war

ruler had to defend himself if attacked. Neighborhood war was permitted by law if only some courteous preliminaries were observed. For instance, a prince or town was required to give warning three days in advance before attacking another member of the Empire (see above, section 22).

Germany had a national assembly, called the *diet*, which met at irregular intervals, now in one town and now in another, for Germany had no capital city. The towns were not permitted to send delegates until 1487, long after the townspeople were

represented in France and England. The restless knights and other minor nobles were not represented at all and consequently did not always consider the decisions of the diet binding upon them.

It was this diet that Charles V summoned to meet him on the Rhine, in the ancient town of Worms, when he made his first visit to Germany in 1520. The most important business of the assembly proved to be the consideration of the case of a university professor, Martin Luther, who was accused of writing heretical books, and who had in reality begun what proved to be the first successful revolt against the seemingly all-powerful Medieval Church.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 53. When and how did the House of Hapsburg become important? What marriages were arranged by Maximilian I which affected the history of Europe? How did Spain become a powerful kingdom? Over what countries did Ferdinand and Isabella rule? What was the extent of Charles V's dominions?

SECTION 54. Describe the Italian expedition of Charles VIII. What were its results? What were the causes of trouble between the French kings and the Hapsburgs? What are your impressions of Francis I? of Henry VIII?

SECTION 55. Contrast Germany in Charles V's time with the German Empire of to-day. Who were the knights? the electors? What was the German diet? Why was the emperor unable to maintain order in Germany?

CHAPTER XIV

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE REVOLT OF GERMANY AGAINST THE PAPACY

The Question of Reforming the Church: Erasmus

Break-up of the Medieval Church

56. By far the most important event during the reign of Charles V was the revolt of a considerable portion of western Europe against the popes. The Medieval Church, which was described in a previous chapter, was in this way broken up, and *Protestant* churches appeared in various European countries which declared themselves entirely independent of the pope and rejected a number of the religious beliefs which the Church had held previously.

Europe divided into Catholic and Protestant countries

With the exception of England all those countries that lay within the ancient bounds of the Roman Empire — Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, as well as southern Germany and Austria — continued to be faithful to the pope and the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, the rulers of the northern German states, of England, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, sooner or later became Protestants. In this way Europe was divided into two great religious parties, and this led to terrible wars and cruel persecutions which fill the annals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sources of discontent with the Church, especially in Germany

The revolt began in Germany. The Germans, while good Catholics, were suspicious of the popes, whom they regarded as Italians, bent upon getting as much money as possible out of the simple people north of the Alps. The revenue flowing to the popes from Germany was very large. The great German prelates, like the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne,

were each expected to contribute no less than ten thousand gold guldens to the papal treasury upon having their election confirmed by the church authorities at Rome. The pope enjoyed the right to fill many important church offices in Germany, and frequently appointed Italians, who drew the revenue without performing the duties attached to the office. A single person frequently held several church offices. For example, early in the sixteenth century, the archbishop of Mayence was at the same time archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop of Halberstadt. There were instances in which a single person had accumulated over a score of benefices.

It is impossible to exaggerate the impression of widespread discontent with the condition of the Church which one meets in the writings of the early sixteenth century. The whole German people, from the rulers down to the humblest tiller of the fields, felt themselves unjustly used. The clergy were denounced as both immoral and inefficient. While the begging friars — the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians[1] — were scorned by many, they, rather than the ordinary priests, appear to have carried on the real religious work.

At first, however, no one thought of withdrawing from the Church or of attempting to destroy the power of the pope. All that the Germans wanted was that the money which flowed toward Rome should be kept at home, and that the clergy should be upright, earnest men who should conscientiously perform their religious duties.

Erasmus, 1465–1536

Among the critics of the Church in the early days of Charles V's reign the most famous and influential was Erasmus. He was a Dutchman by birth, but spent his life in various other countries — France, England, Italy, and Germany. He was a citizen of the world and in correspondence with literary men everywhere, so that his letters give us an excellent idea of the feeling of the times. He was greatly interested in the Greek

[1] The Augustinian order, to which Luther belonged, was organized in the thirteenth century, a little later than the Dominican and the Franciscan.

and Latin authors, but his main purpose in life was to better the Church. He was well aware of the bad reputation of many of the clergymen of the time and he especially disliked the

FIG. 78. PORTRAIT OF ERASMUS, BY HOLBEIN

This wonderful picture by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543) hangs in the Louvre gallery at Paris. We have every reason to suppose that it is an excellent portrait, for Holbein lived in Basel a considerable part of his life and knew Erasmus well. The artist was, moreover, celebrated for his skill in catching the likeness when depicting the human face. He later painted several well-known Englishmen, including Henry VIII and his little son Edward VI (see Fig. 83)

monks, for when he was a boy he had been forced into a monastery, much against his will.

It seemed to Erasmus that if everybody could read the Bible, especially the New Testament, for himself, it would bring about a great change for the better. He wanted to have the Gospels and the letters of Paul translated into the language

of the people so that men and women who did not know Latin could read them and be helped by them.

Erasmus' idea of true religion

Erasmus believed that the two arch enemies of true religion were (1) paganism, into which many of the more enthusiastic Italian Humanists fell in their admiration for the Greek and Latin writers; and (2) the popular confidence in outward acts and ceremonies, like visiting the graves of saints, the mere repetition of prayers, and so forth. He claimed that the Church had become careless and had permitted the simple teachings of Christ to be buried under myriads of dogmas introduced by the theologians. "The essence of our religion," he says, "is peace and harmony. These can only exist where there are few dogmas and each individual is left to form his own opinion upon many matters."

In his *Praise of Folly* Erasmus attacks the evils in the Church

In a little book called *The Praise of Folly*, Erasmus has much to say of the weaknesses of the monks and theologians, and of the foolish people who thought that religion consisted simply in pilgrimages, the worship of relics, and the procuring of indulgences. Scarcely one of the abuses which Luther later attacked escaped Erasmus' pen. The book is a mixture of the lightest humor and the bitterest earnestness. As one turns its pages one is sometimes tempted to think Luther half right when he declared Erasmus "a regular jester who makes sport of everything, even of religion and Christ himself."

Yet there was in this humorist a deep seriousness that cannot be ignored. Erasmus believed, however, that revolt from the pope and the Church would produce a great disturbance and result in more harm than good. He preferred to trust in the slower but surer effects of education and knowledge. Superstitions and the undue regard for the outward forms of religion would, he argued, be outgrown and quietly disappear as mankind became more cultivated.

Erasmus believed the times favorable for reform

He believed, moreover, that the time was favorable for reform. As he looked about him he beheld intelligent rulers on the thrones of Europe, men interested in books and art and ready to help scholars and writers. There was Henry VIII of England

and Francis I of France. Then the pope himself, Leo X, the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was a friend and admirer of Erasmus and doubtless sympathized with many of his views. The youthful Charles V had advisers who believed Erasmus to be quite right and were ready to work toward a reform of the Church. Charles was a devout Catholic, but he too agreed that there were many evils to be remedied. So it seemed to Erasmus that the prospects were excellent for a peaceful reform; but, instead of its coming, his latter years were embittered by Luther's revolt and all the ill-feelings and dissensions that it created.

How Martin Luther revolted against the Papacy

Early years of Luther

57. Martin Luther was born in 1483. He was the son of a poor miner, and he often spoke in later life of the poverty and superstition in which his boyhood was spent. His father, however, was determined that his son should be a lawyer, and so Martin was sent to the University of Erfurt. After he finished his college course and was about to take up the study of the law he suddenly decided to become a monk. He summoned his college friends for a last evening together, and the next morning he led them to the gate of a monastery, bade them and the world farewell, and became a begging friar.

Luther becomes a professor

He was much worried about his soul and feared that nothing he could do would save him from hell. He finally found comfort in the thought that in order to be saved he had only to believe sincerely that God would save him, and that he could not possibly save himself by trying to be good. He gained the respect of the head of the monastery, and when Frederick the Wise of Saxony (Fig. 80) was looking about for teachers in his new university at Wittenberg, Luther was recommended as a good person to teach Aristotle; so he became a professor.

Luther discards Aristotle

As time went on Luther began to be suspicious of some of the things that were taught in the university. He finally decided

FIG. 79. LUTHER AS A MONK, BY CRANACH, 1520

None of the portraits of Luther are very satisfactory. His friend Cranach was not, like Holbein the Younger, a great portrait painter. This cut shows the reformer when his revolt against the Church was just beginning. He was thirty-seven years old and still in the dress of an Augustinian friar, which he soon abandoned

that Aristotle was after all only an ancient heathen who knew nothing about Christianity and that the students had no business to study his works. He urged them to rely instead upon the Bible, especially the letters of St. Paul, and upon the writings of St. Augustine, who closely followed Paul in many respects.

Luther's idea of salvation

Luther's main point was that man, through Adam's sin, had become so corrupt that he could, of himself, do nothing pleasing to God. He could only hope to be saved through *faith* in God's promise to save those who should repent. Consequently "good works," such as attending church, going on pilgrimages, repeating prayers, and visiting relics of the saints, could do nothing for a sinner if he was not already "justified by faith," that is, made acceptable to God by his faith in God's promises. If he was "justified," then he might properly go about his daily duties, for they would be pleasing to God without what the Church was accustomed to regard as "good works."

Luther's teachings did not attract much attention until the year 1517, when he was thirty-four years old. Then something occurred to give him considerable prominence.

Collection for rebuilding St. Peter's

The fact has already been mentioned that the popes had undertaken the rebuilding of St. Peter's, the great central church of Christendom (see above, p. 231). The cost of the enterprise was very great, and in order to collect contributions for the purpose, Pope Leo X arranged for an extensive distribution of *indulgences* in Germany.

Indulgences

In order to understand the nature of indulgences and Luther's opposition to them, we must consider the teaching of the Catholic Church in regard to the forgiveness of sin. The Church taught that if one died after committing a serious ("mortal") sin of which he had not repented and confessed, his soul would certainly be lost. If he sincerely repented and confessed his sin to a priest, God would forgive him and his soul would be saved, but he would not thereby escape punishment. This punishment might consist in fasting, saying certain prayers, going on a pilgrimage, or doing some other "good work." It was assumed,

however, that most men committed so many sins that even if they died repentant, they had to pass through a long period in purgatory, where they would be purified by suffering before they could enter heaven.

Now an indulgence was a pardon, issued usually by the pope himself, which freed the person to whom it was granted *from a part or all of his suffering in purgatory*. It did not forgive his sins or in any way take the place of true repentance and confession; it only reduced the punishment which a truly contrite sinner would otherwise have had to endure, either in this world or in purgatory, before he could be admitted to heaven.[1]

The contribution to the Church which was made in return for indulgences varied greatly; the rich were required to give a considerable sum, while the very poor were to receive these pardons gratis. The representatives of the pope were naturally anxious to collect all the money possible, and did their best to induce every one to secure an indulgence, either for himself or for his deceased friends in purgatory. In their zeal they made many claims for the indulgences, to which no thoughtful churchman or even layman could listen without misgivings.

Luther's theses on indulgences

In October, 1517, Tetzel, a Dominican monk, began granting indulgences in the neighborhood of Wittenberg, and making claims for them which appeared to Luther wholly irreconcilable with the deepest truths of Christianity as he understood and taught them. He therefore, in accordance with the custom of the time, wrote out a series of ninety-five statements in regard to indulgences. These *theses*, as they were called, he posted on the church door and invited any one interested in the matter to enter into a discussion with him on the subject, which he believed was very ill understood.

[1] It is a common mistake of Protestants to suppose that the indulgence was forgiveness granted beforehand for sins to be committed in the future. There is absolutely no foundation for this idea. A person proposing to sin could not possibly be contrite in the eyes of the Church, and even if he secured an indulgence, it would, according to the theologians, have been quite worthless.

FIG. 80. PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK THE WISE, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER

Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was very proud of the university that he founded at Wittenberg, and, while he was a devout Catholic and seems hardly to have understood what Luther stood for, he protected his professor and did not propose to have him tried for heresy by the Church. The portrait is a fine example of the work of the artist who distinguished himself as both a painter and an engraver

In posting these theses, Luther did not intend to attack the Church, and had no expectation of creating a sensation. The theses were in Latin and addressed, therefore, only to learned men. It turned out, however, that every one, high and low, learned and unlearned, was ready to discuss the perplexing theme of the

nature of indulgences. The theses were promptly translated into German, printed, and scattered abroad throughout the land. In these *ninety-five theses* Luther declared that the indulgence was very unimportant and that the poor man would better spend his money for the needs of his household. The truly repentant, he argued, do not flee punishment, but bear it willingly in sign of their sorrow. Faith in God, not the procuring of pardons, brings forgiveness, and every Christian who feels true sorrow for his sins will receive full remission of the punishment as well as of the guilt. Could the pope know how his agents misled the people, he would rather have St. Peter's burn to ashes than build it up with money gained under false pretenses. Then, Luther adds, there is danger that the common man will ask awkward questions. For example, "If the pope releases souls from purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake?" or, "Since the pope is rich as Crœsus, why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

Contents of Luther's theses

Luther now began to read church history and reached the conclusion that the influence of the popes had not been very great until the times of Gregory VII (sections 30–31), and therefore that they had not enjoyed their supremacy over the Church for more than four hundred years before his own birth. He was mistaken in this conclusion, but he had hit upon a line of argument that has been urged by Protestants ever since. They assert that the power of the Medieval Church and of the papacy developed gradually, especially during the Middle Ages, and that the apostles knew nothing of masses, indulgences, pilgrimages, purgatory, or the headship of the bishop of Rome.

Luther becomes suspicious of the papacy

The publication of Luther's theses brought him many sympathizers in Germany. Some were attracted by his protests against the ways in which the popes raised money, and others liked him for attacking Aristotle and the scholastic theologians. Erasmus' publisher at Basel agreed to publish Luther's books, of which he sent copies to Italy, France, England, and Spain, and in this

Wide diffusion of Luther's works

way the Wittenberg monk began before long to be widely known outside of Germany as well as within it.

Erasmus' attitude toward the Lutheran movement

But Erasmus himself, the mighty sovereign of the men of letters, refused to take sides in the controversy. He asserted that he had not read more than a dozen pages of Luther's writings. Although he admitted that "the monarchy of the Roman high priest was, in its existing condition, the pest of Christendom," he believed that a direct attack upon it would do no good. Luther, he urged, would better be discreet and trust that as mankind became more intelligent they would outgrow their false ideas.

Contrast between Luther and Erasmus

To Erasmus, man was capable of progress; cultivate him and extend his knowledge, and he would grow better and better. He was, moreover, a free agent, with, on the whole, upright tendencies. To Luther, on the other hand, man was utterly corrupt, and incapable of a single righteous wish or deed. His will was enslaved to evil, and his only hope lay in the recognition of his absolute inability to better himself, and in a humble reliance upon God's mercy. By *faith*, and not by doing "good works," could he be saved.

Erasmus was willing to wait until every one agreed that the Church should be reformed. Luther had no patience with an institution which seemed to him to be leading souls to destruction by inducing men to rely upon their good works. Both men realized that they could never agree. For a time they expressed respect for each other, but at last they became involved in a bitter controversy in which they gave up all pretense to friendship. Erasmus declared that Luther, by scorning good works and declaring that no one could do right, had made his followers indifferent to their conduct, and that those who accepted Luther's teachings straightway became pert, rude fellows, who would not take off their hats to him on the street.

Luther begins to use violent language

By 1520, Luther, who gave way at times to his naturally violent disposition, had become threatening and abusive and suggested that the German rulers should punish the churchmen and force them to reform their conduct. "We punish

thieves with the gallows, bandits with the sword, heretics with fire; why should we not, with far greater propriety, attack with every kind of weapon these very masters of perdition, the cardinals and popes." "The die is cast," he writes to a friend; "I despise Rome's wrath as I do her favor; I will have no reconciliation or intercourse with her in all time to come. Let her condemn and burn my writings. I will, if fire can be found, publicly condemn and burn the whole papal law."

Luther's and Hutten's appeal to the German people

Luther had gained the support of a German knight named Ulrich von Hutten, who was an ardent enemy of the popes. He and Luther vied with one another during the year 1520 in attacking the pope and his representatives. They both possessed a fine command of the German language, and they were fired by a common hatred of Rome. Hutten had little or none of Luther's religious fervor, but he was a born fighter and he could not find colors dark enough in which to picture to his countrymen the greed of the papal curia, which he described as a vast den, to which everything was dragged which could be filched from the Germans.

Luther's *Address to the German Nobility*

Of Luther's popular pamphlets, the first really famous one was his *Address to the German Nobility*, in which he calls upon the rulers of Germany, especially the knights, to reform the abuses themselves, since he believed that it was vain to wait for the Church to do so. He explains that there are three walls behind which the papacy had been wont to take refuge when any one proposed to remedy its abuses. There was, first, the claim that the clergy formed a separate class, superior even to the civil rulers, who were not permitted to punish a churchman, no matter how bad he was. Secondly, the pope claimed to be superior even to the great general assemblies of the Church, called councils, so that even the representatives of the Church itself might not correct him. And, lastly, the pope assumed the sole right, when questions of belief arose, to interpret with authority the meaning of the Scriptures; consequently he could not be refuted by arguments from the Bible.

Luther undertook to cast down these defenses by denying, to begin with, that there was anything especially sacred about a clergyman except the duties which he had been designated to perform. If he did not attend to his work, it should be possible to deprive him of his office at any moment, just as one would turn off an incompetent tailor or farmer, and in that case he should become a simple layman again. Luther claimed, moreover, that it was the right and duty of the civil government to punish a churchman who does wrong just as if he were the humblest layman. When this first wall was destroyed the others would fall easily enough, for the dominant position of the clergy was the very cornerstone of the Medieval Church.

Luther advocates social as well as religious reforms

The *Address to the German Nobility* closes with a long list of evils which must be done away with before Germany can become prosperous. Luther saw that his view of religion really implied a social revolution. He advocated reducing the monasteries to a tenth of their number and permitting those monks who were disappointed in the good they got from living in them freely to leave. He would not have the monasteries prisons, but hospitals and refuges for the soul-sick. He points out the evils of pilgrimages and of the numerous church holidays, which interfered with daily work. The clergy, he urged, should be permitted to marry and have families like other citizens. The universities should be reformed, and "the accursed heathen, Aristotle," should be cast out from them.

It should be noted that Luther appeals to the authorities not in the name of religion chiefly, but in that of public order and prosperity. He says that the money of the Germans flies 'feather-light" over the Alps to Italy, but it immediately becomes like lead when there is a question of its coming back. He showed himself a master of vigorous language, and his denunciations of the clergy and the Church resounded like a trumpet call in the ears of his countrymen.[1]

[1] Luther had said little of the doctrines of the Church in his *Address to the German Nobility*, but within three or four months he issued a second work, in

Luther had long expected to be excommunicated. But it was not until late in 1520 that John Eck, a personal enemy of his, arrived in Germany with a papal bull (Fig. 81) condemning many of Luther's assertions as heretical and giving him sixty days in which to recant. Should he fail to return to his senses within that time, he and all who adhered to or favored him were to be excommunicated, and any place which harbored him should fall under the interdict. Now, since the highest power in Christendom had pronounced Luther a heretic, he should unhesitatingly have been delivered up by the German authorities. But no one thought of arresting him.

Luther excommunicated

The bull irritated the German princes; whether they liked Luther or not, they decidedly disliked to have the pope issuing commands to them. Then it appeared to them very unfair that Luther's personal enemy should have been intrusted with the publication of the bull. Even the princes and universities that were most friendly to the pope published the bull with great reluctance. In many cases the bull was ignored altogether. Luther's own sovereign, the elector of Saxony, while no convert to the new views, was anxious that Luther's case should be fairly considered, and continued to protect him. One mighty prince, however, the young Emperor Charles V, promptly and willingly published the bull; not, however, as emperor, but as ruler of the Austrian dominions and of the Netherlands. Luther's works were publicly burned at Louvain, Mayence, and Cologne, the strongholds of the old theology.

The German authorities reluctant to publish the bull against Luther

The Wittenberg professor felt himself forced to oppose himself to both pope and emperor. "Hard it is," he exclaimed, "to be forced to contradict all the prelates and princes, but there is no other way to escape hell and God's anger." Late

Luther defies pope and emperor, burns the pope's bull, 1520

which he sought to overthrow the whole system of the sacraments, as it had been taught by the theologians. Four of the seven sacraments — ordination, marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction — he rejected altogether. He revised the conception of the Mass, or the Lord's Supper. The priest was, in his eyes, only a *minister*, in the Protestant sense of the word, one of whose chief functions was preaching.

in 1520 he summoned his students to witness what he called "a pious religious spectacle." He had a fire built outside the walls of Wittenberg and cast into it Leo X's bull condemning him,

FIG. 81. THE PAPAL BULL DIRECTED AGAINST LUTHER, 1521

This is a much-reduced reproduction of the title-page of the pope's bull "against the errors of Martin Luther and his followers" as it was printed and distributed in Germany. The coat of arms with its "balls" is that of the Medici family to which Leo X belonged

and a copy of the Laws of the Church, together with a volume of scholastic theology which he specially disliked.

Yet Luther dreaded disorder. He was certainly sometimes reckless and violent in his writings and often said that bloodshed

could not be avoided when it should please God to visit his judgments upon the stiff-necked and perverse generation of "Romanists," as the Germans contemptuously called the supporters of the pope. Yet he always discouraged hasty reform. He was reluctant to make changes, except in belief. He held that so long as an institution did not actually mislead, it did no harm. He was, in short, no fanatic at heart.

Luther's attitude toward a violent realization of his reforms

The Diet at Worms, 1520–1521

58. The pope's chief representative in Germany, named Aleander, wrote as follows to Leo X about this time: "I am pretty familiar with the history of this German nation. I know their past heresies, councils, and schisms, but never were affairs so serious before. Compared with present conditions, the struggle between Henry IV and Gregory VII was as violets and roses. . . . These mad dogs are now well equipped with knowledge and arms; they boast that they are no longer ignorant brutes like their predecessors; they claim that Italy has lost the monopoly of the sciences and that the Tiber now flows into the Rhine. Nine-tenths of the Germans are shouting 'Luther,' and the other tenth goes so far at least as 'Death to the Roman curia.'"

Views of the papal representative on public opinion in Germany

Among the enemies of Luther and his supporters none was more important than the young emperor. It was toward the end of the year 1520 that Charles came to Germany for the first time. After being crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle, he assumed, with the pope's consent, the title of Emperor elect, as his grandfather Maximilian had done. He then moved on to the town of Worms, where he was to hold his first diet and face the German situation.

Charles V's want of sympathy with the German reformers

Although scarcely more than a boy in years, Charles had already begun to take life very seriously. He had decided that Spain, not Germany, was to be the bulwark and citadel of all his realms. Like the more enlightened of his Spanish subjects, he realized the need of reforming the Church, but he had no

sympathy whatever with any change of religious belief. He proposed to live and die a devout Catholic of the old type, such as his orthodox ancestors had been. He felt, moreover, that he must maintain the same religion in all parts of his heterogeneous dominions. If he should permit the Germans to declare their independence of the Church, the next step would be for them to claim that they had a right to regulate their government regardless of their emperor.

Luther summoned to the diet at Worms

Upon arriving at Worms the case of Luther was at once forced upon Charles's attention by Aleander, the papal representative, who was indefatigable in urging him to outlaw the heretic without further delay. While Charles seemed convinced of Luther's guilt, he could not proceed against him without serious danger. The monk had become a sort of national hero and had the support of the powerful elector of Saxony. Other princes, who had ordinarily no wish to protect a heretic, felt that Luther's denunciation of the evils in the Church and of the actions of the pope was very gratifying. After much discussion it was finally arranged, to the great disgust of the zealous Aleander, that Luther should be summoned to Worms and be given an opportunity to face the German nation and the emperor, and to declare plainly whether he was the author of the heretical books ascribed to him, and whether he still adhered to the doctrines which the pope had condemned.

The emperor accordingly wrote the "honorable and respected" Luther a very polite letter, desiring him to appear at Worms and granting him a safe-conduct thither.

Luther before the diet

It was not, however, proposed to give Luther an opportunity to defend his beliefs before the diet. When he appeared he was simply asked if a pile of his Latin and German works were really his, and, if so, whether he revoked what he had said in them. To the first question the monk replied in a low voice that he had written these and more. As to the second question, which involved the welfare of the soul and the Word of God, he asked that he might have a little while to consider.

The following day, in a Latin address which he repeated in German, he admitted that he had been overviolent in his attacks upon his opponents; but he said that no one could deny that, through the popes' decrees, the consciences of faithful Christians had been tormented, and their goods and possessions, especially in Germany, devoured. Should he recant those things which he had said against the popes' conduct, he would only strengthen the papal tyranny and give an opportunity for new usurpations. If, however, adequate arguments against his position could be found in the Scriptures, he would gladly and willingly recant.

The emperor forced by the law to outlaw Luther

There was now nothing for the emperor to do but to outlaw Luther, who had denied the binding character of the commands of the head of the Church. Aleander was accordingly assigned the agreeable duty of drafting the famous Edict of Worms.

The Edict of Worms, 1521

This document declared Luther an outlaw on the following grounds: that he questioned the recognized number and character of the sacraments, impeached the regulations in regard to the marriage of the clergy, scorned and vilified the pope, despised the priesthood and stirred up the laity to dip their hands in the blood of the clergy, denied free will, taught licentiousness, despised authority, advocated a brutish existence, and was a menace to Church and State alike. Every one was forbidden to give the heretic food, drink, or shelter, and required to seize him and deliver him to the emperor.

Moreover, the decree provides that "no one shall dare to buy, sell, read, preserve, copy, print, or cause to be copied or printed, any books of the aforesaid Martin Luther, condemned by our holy father the pope, as aforesaid, or any other writings in German or Latin hitherto composed by him, since they are foul, noxious, suspected, and published by a notorious and stiff-necked heretic. Neither shall any one dare to affirm his opinions, or proclaim, defend, or advance them in any other way that human ingenuity can invent, — notwithstanding that he may have put some good into his writings in order to deceive the simple man."

"I am becoming ashamed of my fatherland," Hutten cried when he read the Edict of Worms. So general was the disapproval of the edict that few were willing to pay any attention to it. Charles V immediately left Germany, and for nearly ten years was occupied outside it with the government of Spain and a succession of wars.

The Revolt against the Papacy begins in Germany

Luther begins a new translation of the Bible in the Wartburg

59. As Luther neared Eisenach upon his way home from Worms he was kidnaped by his friends and conducted to the Wartburg, a castle belonging to the elector of Saxony. Here he was concealed until any danger from the action of the emperor or diet should pass by. His chief occupation during several months of hiding was to begin a new translation of the Bible into German. He had finished the New Testament before he left the Wartburg in March, 1522.

Luther's Bible the first important book in modern German

Up to this time, German editions of the Scriptures, while not uncommon, had been poor and obscure. Luther's task was a difficult one. He was anxious above all that the Bible should be put into language that would seem perfectly clear and natural to the common folk. So he went about asking the mothers and children and the laborers questions which might draw out the expression that he was looking for. It sometimes took him two or three weeks to find the right word. But so well did he do his work that his Bible may be regarded as a great landmark in the history of the German language. It was the first book of any importance written in modern German, and it has furnished an imperishable standard for the language.

General discussion of public questions in pamphlets and satires

Previous to 1518 there had been very few books or pamphlets printed in German. The translation of the Bible into language so simple that even the unlearned might read it was only one of the signs of a general effort to awaken the minds of the common people. Luther's friends and enemies also commenced

to write for the great German public in its own language. The common man began to raise his voice, to the scandal of the learned.

Hundreds of pamphlets, satires, and cartoons have come down to us which indicate that the religious and other questions of the day were often treated in somewhat the same spirit in which our comic papers deal with political problems and discussions now. We find, for instance, a correspondence between Leo X and the devil, and a witty dialogue between a well-known knight, Franz von Sickingen, and St. Peter at the gate of heaven.

Divergent notions of how the Church should actually be reformed

Hitherto there had been a great deal of talk of reform, but as yet nothing had actually been done. There was no sharp line drawn between the different classes of reformers. All agreed that something should be done to better the Church; few realized how divergent were the real ends in view. The rulers listened to Luther because they were glad of an excuse to get control of the church property and keep money from flowing to Rome. The peasants listened because he put the Bible in their hands and they found nothing there that proved that they ought to go on paying the old dues to their lords.

The revolt begins

While Luther was quietly living in the Wartburg, translating the Bible, people began to put his teachings into practice. The monks and nuns left their monasteries in his own town of Wittenberg. Some of them married, which seemed a very wicked thing to all those that held to the old beliefs. The students and citizens tore down the images of the saints in the churches and opposed the celebration of the Mass, the chief Catholic ceremony.

Luther disapproves violent reform

Luther did not approve of these sudden and violent changes and left his hiding place to protest. He preached a series of sermons in Wittenberg in which he urged that all alterations in religious services and practices should be introduced by the *government* and not by the *people*. He said, however, that those who wished might leave their monasteries and that those who

chose to stay should give up begging and earn their living like other people. He predicted that if no one gave any money to the Church, popes, bishops, monks, and nuns would in two years vanish away like smoke.

Revolt of the German knights

But his counsel was not heeded. First, the German knights organized a movement to put the new ideas in practice. Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten, admirers of Luther, attacked the archbishop of Treves and proclaimed that they were going to free his subjects from "the heavy unchristian yoke of the 'parsons' and lead them to evangelical liberty." But the German princes sided with the archbishop and battered down Franz von Sickingen's castle with cannon, and Franz was fatally injured by a falling beam. Twenty other castles of the knights were destroyed and this put an end to their revolt; but Luther and his teachings were naturally blamed as the real reason for the uprising.

Luther's rash talk about the princes and nobles serves to encourage the revolt of the peasants

The conservative party, who were frankly afraid of Luther, received a new and terrible proof, as it seemed to them, of the noxious influence of his teachings. In 1525 the serfs rose, in the name of "God's justice," to avenge their wrongs and establish their rights. Luther was not responsible for the civil war which followed, though he had certainly helped to stir up discontent. He had asserted, for example, that the German feudal lords were hangmen, who knew only how to swindle the poor man. "Such fellows were formerly called rascals, but now must we call them 'Christian and revered princes.'" Yet in spite of his harsh talk about the princes, Luther really relied upon them to forward his movement, and he justly claimed that he had greatly increased their power by attacking the authority of the pope and subjecting the clergy in all things to the government.

The demands of the peasants in the "Twelve Articles"

Some of the demands of the peasants were perfectly reasonable. The most popular expression of their needs was the dignified "Twelve Articles."[1] In these they claimed that the

[1] The "Twelve Articles" may be found in *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxvi.

Bible did not sanction any of the dues which the lords demanded of them, and that, since they were Christians like their lords, they should no longer be held as serfs. They were willing to pay all the old and well-established dues, but they asked to be properly remunerated for extra services demanded by the lord. They thought too that each community should have the right freely to choose its own pastor and to dismiss him if he proved negligent or inefficient.

Luther urges the government to suppress the revolt

There were, however, leaders who were more violent and who proposed to kill the "godless" priests and nobles. Hundreds of castles and monasteries were destroyed by the frantic peasantry, and some of the nobility were murdered with shocking cruelty. Luther tried to induce the peasants, with whom, as the son of a peasant, he was at first inclined to sympathize, to remain quiet; but when his warnings proved vain, he turned against them. He declared that they were guilty of the most fearful crimes, for which they deserved death of both body and soul many times over. They had broken their allegiance, they had wantonly plundered and robbed castles and monasteries, and lastly, they had tried to cloak their dreadful sins with excuses from the Gospels. He therefore urged the government to put down the insurrection without pity.

The peasant revolt put down with great cruelty

Luther's advice was followed with terrible literalness by the German rulers, and the nobility took fearful revenge on the peasants. In the summer of 1525 their chief leader was defeated and killed, and it is estimated that ten thousand peasants were put to death, many with the utmost cruelty. Few of the rulers or landlords introduced any reforms, and the misfortunes due to the destruction of property and to the despair of the peasants cannot be imagined. The people concluded that the new gospel was not for them, and talked of Luther as Dr. Lügner, that is, "liar." The old exactions of the lords of the manors were in no way lightened, and the situation of the serfs for centuries following the great revolt was worse rather than better.

Division of Germany into Catholic and Protestant Countries

Southern Germany remains Catholic, the northern princes become Protestant

60. Charles V was occupied at this time by his quarrels with Francis I (see p. 279) and was in no position to return to Germany and undertake to enforce the Edict of Worms against Luther and his followers. Germany, as we have seen, was divided up into hundreds of practically independent countries, and the various electors, princes, towns, and knights naturally could not agree as to what would best be done in the matter of reforming the Church. It became apparent not long after the Peasant War that some of the rulers were going to accept Luther's idea that they need no longer obey the pope but that they were free to proceed to regulate the property and affairs of the churchmen in their respective domains without regard to the pope's wishes. Other princes and towns agreed that they would remain faithful to the pope if certain reforms were introduced, especially if the papal taxation were reduced. Southern Germany decided for the pope and remains Catholic down to the present day. Many of the northern rulers, on the other hand, adopted the new teachings, and finally all of them fell away from the papacy and became Protestant.

Action of diet of Speyer, 1526

Since there was no one powerful enough to decide the great question for the whole of Germany, the diet which met at Speyer in 1526 determined that pending the summoning of a church council each ruler should "so live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty." For the moment, then, the various German governments were left to determine the religion of their subjects.

Hopes of uniting all religious parties

Yet everybody still hoped that one religion might ultimately be agreed upon. Luther trusted that all Christians would sometime accept the new gospel. He was willing that the bishops should be retained, and even that the pope should still be regarded as a sort of presiding officer in the Church. As for his enemies, they were equally confident that the heretics

would in time be suppressed, as they had always been in the past, and that harmony would thus be restored. Neither party was right; for the decision of the diet of Speyer was destined to become a permanent arrangement, and Germany remained divided between different religious faiths.

Charles V again intervenes in the religious controversy in Germany

New sects opposed to the old Church had also begun to appear. Zwingli, a Swiss reformer, was gaining many followers, and the Anabaptists were rousing Luther's apprehensions by their radical plans for doing away with the Catholic religion altogether. The emperor, finding himself again free for a time to attend to German affairs, commanded the diet, which again met at Speyer in 1529, to order the enforcement of the Edict of Worms against the heretics. No one was to preach against the Mass, and no one was to be prevented from attending it freely.

Origin of the term "Protestant"

This meant that the "Evangelical" princes would be forced to restore the most characteristic of the Catholic ceremonies. As they formed only a minority in the diet, all that they could do was to draw up a *protest*, signed by John Frederick, elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and fourteen of the imperial towns (Strassburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, etc.). In this they claimed that the majority had no right to abrogate the edict of the former diet of Speyer, which had been passed unanimously, and which all had solemnly pledged themselves to observe. They therefore appealed to the emperor and a future council against the tyranny of the majority. Those who signed this appeal were called from their action *Protestants*. Thus originated the name which came to be generally applied to those who do not accept the rule and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Preparations for the diet of Augsburg

Ever since the diet at Worms the emperor had resided in Spain, busied with a succession of wars carried on with the king of France. It will be remembered that both Charles and Francis claimed Milan and the duchy of Burgundy, and they sometimes drew the pope into their conflicts. But in 1530 the emperor found himself at peace for the moment and came to

Germany to hold a brilliant diet of his German subjects at Augsburg in the hope of settling the religious problem, which, however, he understood very imperfectly. He ordered the Protestants to draw up a statement of exactly what they believed, which should serve as a basis for discussion. Melanchthon, Luther's most famous friend and colleague, who was noted for his great learning and moderation, was intrusted with this delicate task.

The Augsburg Confession

The *Augsburg Confession*, as his declaration was called, is a historical document of great importance for the student of the Protestant revolt.[1] Melanchthon's gentle disposition led him to make the differences between his belief and that of the old Church seem as few and slight as possible. He showed that both parties held the same fundamental views of Christianity. But he defended the Protestants' rejection of a number of the practices of the Roman Catholics, such as the celibacy of the clergy and the observance of fast days. There was little or nothing in the Augsburg Confession concerning the organization of the Church.

Charles V's attempt at pacification

Certain theologians who had been loud in their denunciations of Luther were ordered by the emperor to prepare a refutation of the Protestant views. The statement of the Catholics admitted that a number of Melanchthon's positions were perfectly orthodox; but the portion of the Augsburg Confession which dealt with the practical reforms introduced by the Protestants was rejected altogether.

Charles V declared the Catholic statement to be "Christian and judicious" and commanded the Protestants to accept it. They were to cease troubling the Catholics and were to give back all the monasteries and church property which they had seized. The emperor agreed, however, to urge the pope to call a council to meet within a year. This, he hoped, would be able

[1] It is still accepted as the creed of the Lutheran Church. Copies of it in English may be procured from the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, for ten cents each.

to settle all differences and reform the Church according to the views of the Catholics.

Progress of Protestantism up to the Peace of Augsburg, 1555

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the progress of Protestantism in Germany during the quarter of a century succeeding the diet of Augsburg. Enough has been said to show the character of the revolt and the divergent views taken by the German princes and people. For ten years after the emperor left Augsburg he was kept busy in southern Europe by new wars; and in order to secure the assistance of the Protestants, he was forced to let them go their own way. Meanwhile the number of rulers who accepted Luther's teachings gradually increased. Finally, there was a brief war between Charles and the Protestant princes, but there was little fighting done. Charles V brought his Spanish soldiers into Germany and captured both John Frederick of Saxony and his ally, Philip of Hesse, the chief leaders of the Lutheran cause, whom he kept prisoners for several years.

This episode did not, however, check the progress of Protestantism. The king of France promised them help against his enemy, the emperor, and Charles was forced to agree to a peace with the Protestants.

The Peace of Augsburg

In 1555 the religious Peace of Augsburg was ratified. Its provisions are memorable. Each German prince and each town and knight immediately under the emperor was to be at liberty to make a choice between the beliefs of the venerable Catholic Church and those embodied in the Augsburg Confession. If, however, an ecclesiastical prince — an archbishop, bishop, or abbot — declared himself a Protestant, he must surrender his possessions to the Church. Every German was either to conform to the religious practices of his particular state or emigrate from it. Every one was supposed to be either a Catholic or a Lutheran, and no provision was made for any other belief.

This religious peace in no way established freedom of conscience, except for the rulers. Their power, it must be noted, was greatly increased, inasmuch as they were given the control of religious as well as of secular matters. This arrangement

The principle that the government should determine the religion of its subjects

which permitted the ruler to determine the religion of his realm was more natural in those days than it would be in ours. The Church and the civil government had been closely associated with one another for centuries. No one as yet dreamed that every individual might safely be left quite free to believe what he would and to practice any religious rites which afforded him help and comfort.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 56. What were the sources of discontent with the Church in Germany? What were the views of Erasmus in regard to church reform?

SECTION 57. Tell something of Luther's life before he posted up his theses. What was an indulgence? Give some of Luther's views expressed in his ninety-five theses. Contrast the opinions of Erasmus and Luther. Who was Ulrich von Hutten? Discuss Luther's *Address to the German Nobility*. Why was Luther excommunicated? What was the fate of the papal bull directed against him?

SECTION 58. Why did Charles V summon Luther at Worms? What did Luther say to the diet? What were the chief provisions of the Edict of Worms?

SECTION 59. Describe Luther's translation of the Bible. What was the state of public opinion in Germany after the diet at Worms? What was Luther's attitude toward reform? Why did the German peasants revolt? What did the Twelve Articles contain? What effect did the peasant war have on Luther?

SECTION 60. What was the origin of the term "Protestant"? What was the Augsburg Confession? What were the results of the diet of Augsburg? What was the policy of Charles V in regard to the Protestants? What were the chief provisions of the Peace of Augsburg?

CHAPTER XV

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN SWITZERLAND AND ENGLAND

Zwingli and Calvin

61. For at least a century after Luther's death the great issue between Catholics and Protestants dominates the history of all the countries with which we have to do, except Italy and Spain, where Protestantism never took permanent root. In Switzerland, England, France, and Holland the revolt against the Medieval Church produced discord, wars, and profound changes, which must be understood in order to follow the later development of these countries.

Origin of the Swiss Confederation

We turn first to Switzerland, lying in the midst of the great chain of the Alps which extends from the Mediterranean to Vienna. During the Middle Ages the region destined to be included in the Swiss Confederation formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire and was scarcely distinguishable from the rest of southern Germany. As early as the thirteenth century the three "forest" cantons on the shores of the winding lake of Lucerne formed a union to protect their liberties against the encroachments of their neighbors, the Hapsburgs. It was about this tiny nucleus that Switzerland gradually consolidated. Lucerne and the free towns of Zurich and Berne soon joined the Swiss league. By brave fighting the Swiss were able to frustrate the renewed efforts of the Hapsburgs to subjugate them.

Various districts in the neighborhood joined the Swiss union in succession, and even the region lying on the Italian slopes of the Alps was brought under its control. Gradually the bonds between the members of the union and the Empire were broken.

Switzerland becomes a separate country; mixed nationality of its people

In 1499 they were finally freed from the jurisdiction of the emperor and Switzerland became a practically independent country. Although the original union had been made up of German-speaking people, considerable districts had been annexed in which Italian or French was spoken.[1] The Swiss did

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

not, therefore, form a compact, well-defined nation, and consequently for some centuries their confederation was weak and ill-organized.

In Switzerland the first leader of the revolt against the Church was a young priest named Zwingli, who was a year younger

[1] This condition has not changed; all Swiss laws are still proclaimed in three languages.

than Luther. He lived in the famous monastery of Einsiedeln, near the Lake of Zurich, which was the center of pilgrimages on account of a wonder-working image. "Here," he says, "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in the year 1516, before any one in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther."

Zwingli (1484–1531) leads the revolt in Switzerland against the Church

Three years later he was called to an influential position as preacher in the cathedral of Zurich, and there his great work really commenced. He then began to denounce the abuses in the Church as well as the shameless traffic in soldiers, which he had long regarded as a blot upon his country's honor.[1]

Zwingli denounces the abuses in the Church and the traffic in soldiers

But the original cantons about the Lake of Lucerne, which feared that they might lose the great influence that, in spite of their small size, they had hitherto enjoyed, were ready to fight for the old faith. The first armed collision between the Swiss Protestants and Catholics took place at Kappel in 1531, and Zwingli fell in the battle. The various cantons and towns never came to an agreement in religious matters, and Switzerland is still part Catholic and part Protestant.

Calvin (1509–1564) and the Presbyterian Church

Far more important than Zwingli's teachings, especially for England and America, was the work of Calvin, which was carried on in the ancient city of Geneva, on the very outskirts of the Swiss confederation. It was Calvin who organized the *Presbyterian Church* and formulated its beliefs. He was born in northern France in 1509; he belonged, therefore, to the second generation of Protestants. He was early influenced by the Lutheran teachings, which had already found their way into France. A persecution of the Protestants under Francis I drove him out of the country and he settled for a time in Basel.

Calvin's *Institutes of Christianity*

Here he issued the first edition of his great work, *The Institutes of Christianity*, which has been more widely discussed than

[1] Switzerland had made a business, ever since the time when Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, of supplying troops of mercenaries to fight for other countries, especially for France and the pope. It was the Swiss who gained the battle of Marignano for Francis I, and Swiss guards may still be seen in the pope's palace.

any other Protestant theological treatise. It was the first orderly exposition of the principles of Christianity from a Protestant standpoint, and formed a convenient manual for study and discussion. The *Institutes* are based upon the infallibility of the Bible and reject the infallibility of the Church and the pope. Calvin possessed a remarkably logical mind and a clear and admirable style. The French version of his great work is the first example of the successful use of that language in an argumentative treatise.

Calvin's reformation in Geneva

Calvin was called to Geneva about 1540 and intrusted with the task of reforming the town, which had secured its independence of the Duke of Savoy. He drew up a constitution and established an extraordinary government in which the Church and the civil government were as closely associated as they had ever been in any Catholic country. Calvin intrusted the management of church affairs to the ministers and the elders, or *presbyters*; hence the name "Presbyterian." The Protestantism which found its way into France was that of Calvin, not that of Luther, and the same may be said of Scotland (see below, p. 346).

How England fell away from the Papacy

Erasmus in England

62. When Erasmus came to England about the year 1500 he was delighted with the people he met there. Henry VII was still alive. It will be remembered that it was he that brought order into England after the Wars of the Roses. His son, who was to become the famous Henry VIII, impressed Erasmus as a very promising boy. We may assume that the intelligent men whom Erasmus met in England agreed with him in regard to the situation in the Church and the necessity of reform. He

More's *Utopia*

was a good friend of Sir Thomas More, who is best known for his little book called *Utopia*, which means "Nowhere." In it More pictures the happy conditions in an undiscovered land where the government was perfect and all the evils that

he saw about him were done away. It was at More's house that Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly* and dedicated it to him.

Henry VIII came to the English throne when he was eighteen years old. His chief adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, deserves great credit for having constantly striven to discourage his sovereign's ambition to take part in the wars on the Continent. The cardinal's

Wolsey's policy of peace and his idea of the balance of power

Fig. 82. Henry VIII

argument that England could become great by peace better than by war was a momentous discovery. Peace he felt would be best secured by maintaining the *balance of power* on the Continent, so that no ruler should become dangerous by unduly extending his sway. For example, he thought it good policy to side with Charles V when Francis I was successful, and then with Francis after his terrible defeat at Pavia (1525) when he fell into the hands of Charles. This idea of the balance of power came to be recognized later by the European countries as a very important consideration in determining their policy.

But Wolsey was not long to be permitted to put his enlightened ideas in practice. His fall and the progress of Protestantism in England are both closely associated with the notorious divorce case of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII's divorce case

It will be remembered that Henry had married Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V. Only one of their children, Mary, survived to grow up. As time went on Henry was very anxious to have a son and heir, for he was fearful lest a woman might not be permitted to succeed to the throne. Moreover, he had tired of Catherine, who was considerably older than he.

Catherine had first married Henry's older brother, who had died almost immediately after the marriage. Since it was a violation of the rule of the Church to marry a deceased brother's wife, Henry professed to fear that he was committing a sin by retaining Catherine as his wife and demanded to be divorced from her on the ground that his marriage had never been legal. His anxiety to rid himself of Catherine was greatly increased by the appearance at court of a black-eyed girl of sixteen, named Anne Boleyn, with whom the king fell in love.

Clement VII refuses to divorce Henry

Unfortunately for his case, his marriage with Catherine had been authorized by a dispensation from the pope, so that Clement VII, to whom the king appealed to annul the marriage, could not, even if he had been willing to run the risk of angering the queen's nephew, Charles V, have granted Henry's request.

Fall of Wolsey

Wolsey's failure to induce the pope to permit the divorce excited the king's anger, and with rank ingratitude for his minister's great services, Henry drove him from office (1529) and seized his property. From a life of wealth which was fairly regal, Wolsey was precipitated into extreme poverty. An imprudent but innocent act of his soon gave his enemies a pretext for charging him with treason; but the unhappy man died on his way to London and thus escaped being beheaded as a traitor.

Henry VIII begins his revolt against the papacy

Cardinal Wolsey had been the pope's representative in England. Henry VIII's next move was to declare the whole clergy of England guilty in obeying Wolsey, since an old law forbade any papal agent to appear in England without the king's consent.[1] The king refused to forgive them until they had solemnly acknowledged him supreme head of the English Church.[2] He then induced Parliament to cut off some of the pope's revenue from England; but, as this did not bring Clement VII to terms, Henry lost patience and secretly married Anne Boleyn, relying on getting a divorce from Catherine later.

His method was a simple one. He summoned an English church court which declared his marriage with Catherine null and void. He had persuaded Parliament to make a law providing that all lawsuits should be definitely decided within the realm and in this way cut off the possibility of the queen's appealing to the pope.

Parliament, which did whatever Henry VIII asked, also declared Henry's marriage with Catherine unlawful and that with Anne Boleyn legal. Consequently it was decreed that Anne's daughter Elizabeth, born in 1533, was to succeed her father on the English throne instead of Mary, the daughter of Catherine.

The Act of Supremacy and the denial of the pope's authority over England

In 1534 the English Parliament completed the revolt of the English Church from the pope by assigning to the king the right to appoint all the English prelates and to enjoy all the income which had formerly found its way to Rome. In the Act of Supremacy, Parliament declared the king to be "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England," and that he should enjoy all the powers which the title naturally carried with it.

Two years later every officer in the kingdom was required to swear to renounce the authority of the bishop of Rome.

[1] Henry had, however, agreed that Wolsey should accept the office of papal legate.

[2] The clergy only recognized the king as "Head of the Church and Clergy so far as the law of Christ will allow." They did not abjure the headship of the pope over the whole Church.

Refusal to take this oath was to be adjudged high treason. Many were unwilling to deny the pope's headship merely because king and Parliament renounced it, and this legislation led to a persecution in the name of treason which was even more horrible than that which had been carried on in the supposed interest of religion.

Henry VIII no Protestant

It must be carefully observed that Henry VIII was not a Protestant in the Lutheran sense of the word. He was led, it is true, by Clement VII's refusal to declare his first marriage illegal, to break the bond between the English and the Roman Church, and to induce the English clergy and Parliament to acknowledge the king as supreme head in the religious as well as in the worldly interests of the country. Important as this was, it did not lead Henry to accept the teachings of Protestant leaders, like Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin.

Henry's anxiety to prove himself a good Catholic

Henry was anxious to prove that he was orthodox, especially after he had seized the property of the monasteries and the gold and jewels which adorned the receptacles in which the relics of the saints were kept. He presided in person over the trial of one who accepted the opinions of Zwingli, and he quoted Scripture to prove the contrary. The prisoner was condemned and burned as a heretic. Henry also authorized a new translation of the Bible into English. A fine edition of this was printed (1539), and every parish was ordered to obtain a copy and place it in the parish church, where all the people could readily make use of it.

The English Bible

Henry's tyranny

Execution of Sir Thomas More

Henry VIII was heartless and despotic. With a barbarity not uncommon in those days, he allowed his old friend and adviser, Sir Thomas More, to be beheaded for refusing to pronounce the marriage with Catherine void. He caused numbers of monks to be executed for refusing to swear that his first marriage was illegal and for denying his title to supremacy in the Church. Others he permitted to die of starvation and disease in the filthy prisons of the time. Many Englishmen would doubtless have agreed with one of the friars who said

humbly: "I profess that it is not out of obstinate malice or a mind of rebellion that I do disobey the king, but only for the fear of God, that I offend not the Supreme Majesty; because our Holy Mother, the Church, hath decreed and appointed otherwise than the king and Parliament hath ordained."

Dissolution of the English monasteries

Henry wanted money; some of the English abbeys were rich, and the monks were quite unable to defend themselves against the charges which were brought against them. The king sent commissioners about to inquire into the state of the monasteries. A large number of scandalous tales were easily collected, some of which were undoubtedly true. The monks were doubtless often indolent and sometimes wicked. Nevertheless they were kind landlords, hospitable to the stranger, and good to the poor. The plundering of the smaller monasteries, with which the king began, led to a revolt, due to a rumor that the king would next proceed to despoil the parish churches as well.

This gave Henry an excuse for attacking the larger monasteries. The abbots and priors who had taken part in the revolt were hanged and their monasteries confiscated. Other abbots, panic-stricken, confessed that they and their monks had been committing the most loathsome sins and asked to be permitted to give up their monasteries to the king. The royal commissioners then took possession, sold every article upon which they could lay hands, including the bells and even the lead on the roofs. The picturesque remains of some of the great abbey churches are still among the chief objects of interest to the sight-seer in England. The monastery lands were, of course, appropriated by the king. They were sold for the benefit of the government or given to nobles whose favor the king wished to secure.

Along with the destruction of the monasteries went an attack upon the shrines and images in the churches, which were adorned with gold and jewels. The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was destroyed, and the bones of the saint were

Destruction of shrines and images for the benefit of the king's treasury

burned. An old wooden figure which was revered in Wales was used to make a fire to burn an unfortunate friar who maintained that in religious matters the pope rather than the king should be obeyed. These acts resembled the Protestant attacks on images which occurred in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. The main object of the king and his party was probably to get money, although the reason urged for the destruction was the superstitious veneration in which the relics and images were popularly held.

Henry's third marriage and the birth of Edward VI

Henry's family troubles by no means came to an end with his marriage to Anne Boleyn. Of her, too, he soon tired, and three years after their marriage he had her executed on a series of monstrous charges. The very next day he married his third wife, Jane Seymour, who was the mother of his son and successor, Edward VI. Jane died a few days after her son's birth, and later Henry married in succession three other women, who are historically unimportant, since they left no children as claimants for the crown. Henry took care that his three children, all of whom were destined to reign, should be given their due place in the line of inheritance by act of Parliament.[1] His death in 1547 left the great problem of Protestantism and Catholicism to be settled by his son and daughters.

England becomes Protestant

Edward VI's ministers introduce Protestant practices

63. While the revolt of England against the papacy was carried through by the government at a time when the greater part of the nation was still Catholic, there was undoubtedly, under Henry VIII, an ever-increasing number of aggressive and ardent Protestants who applauded the change. During the six

Henry VIII, m. (1) Catherine | Mary (1553–1558); m. (2) Anne Boleyn, | Elizabeth (1558–1603); m. (3) Jane Seymour | Edward VI (1547–1553)

It was arranged that the son was to succeed to the throne. In case he died without heirs, Mary and then Elizabeth were to follow.

years of the boy Edward's reign — he died in 1553 at the age of sixteen — those in charge of the government favored the Protestant party and did what they could to change the faith of all the people by bringing Protestant teachers from the Continent.

A general demolition of all the sacred images was ordered; even the beautiful stained glass, the glory of the cathedrals,

FIG. 83. EDWARD VI, BY HOLBEIN

This interesting sketch was made before Edward became king, and he could have been scarcely six years old, as Holbein died in 1543

was destroyed, because it often represented saints and angels. The king was to appoint bishops without troubling to observe the old forms of election, and Protestants began to be put into the high offices of the Church. Parliament turned over to the king the funds which had been established for the purpose of having masses chanted for the dead, and decreed that thereafter the clergy should be free to marry.

A prayer book in English was prepared under the auspices of Parliament, not very unlike that used in the Church of

The prayer book and the "Thirty-Nine Articles"

England to-day (see below, p. 345). Moreover, forty-two articles of faith were drawn up by the government, which were to be the standard of belief for the country. These, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, were revised and reduced to the famous

FIG. 84. QUEEN MARY, BY ANTONIO MORO

This lifelike portrait, in the Madrid collection, is by a favorite painter of Philip II, Mary's husband (see Fig. 87). It was painted about 1554, and one gets the same impressions of Mary's character from the portrait that one does from reading about her. Moro had Holbein's skill in painting faces

"Thirty-Nine Articles," which still constitute the creed of the Church of England.

The changes in the church services must have sadly shocked a great part of the English people, who had been accustomed to watch with awe and expectancy the various acts associated

with the many church ceremonies and festivals. Earnest men who deplored the policy of those who conducted Edward's government in the name of Protestantism must have concluded that the reformers were chiefly intent upon advancing their own interests by plundering the Church. We get some idea of the desecrations of the time from the fact that Edward was forced to forbid "quarreling and shooting in churches" and "the bringing of horses and mules through the same, making God's house like a stable or common inn." Although many were heartily in favor of the recent changes, it is no wonder that after Edward's death there was a revulsion in favor of the old religion.

Protestantism partially discredited by Edward's ministers

Edward VI was succeeded in 1553 by his half sister Mary, the daughter of Catherine, who had been brought up in the Catholic faith and held firmly to it. Her ardent hope of bringing her kingdom back once more to her religion did not seem altogether ill-founded, for the majority of the people were still Catholics at heart, and many who were not, disapproved of the policy of Edward's ministers, who had removed abuses "in the devil's own way, by breaking in pieces."

Queen Mary (1553–1558) and the Catholic reaction

The Catholic cause appeared, moreover, to be strengthened by Mary's marriage with the Spanish prince, Philip II, the son of the orthodox Charles V. But although Philip later distinguished himself, as we shall see, by the merciless way in which he strove to put down heresy within his realms, he never gained any great influence in England. By his marriage with Mary he acquired the title of king, but the English took care that he should have no hand in the government nor be permitted to succeed his wife on the English throne.

Mary succeeded in bringing about a nominal reconciliation between England and the Roman Church. In 1554 the papal legate restored to the communion of the Catholic Church the "Kneeling" Parliament, which theoretically, of course, represented the nation.

During the last four years of Mary's reign the most serious religious persecution in English history occurred. No less than

two hundred and seventy-seven persons were put to death for denying the teachings of the Roman Church. The majority of the victims were humble artisans and husbandmen. The three most notable sufferers were the bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, who were burned in Oxford.

It was Mary's hope and belief that the heretics sent to the stake would furnish a terrible warning to the Protestants and check the spread of the new teachings, but Catholicism was not promoted; on the contrary, doubters were only convinced of the earnestness of the Protestants who could die with such constancy.

The Catholics, it should be noted, later suffered serious persecution under Elizabeth and James I, the Protestant successors of Mary. Death was the penalty fixed in many cases for those who obstinately refused to recognize the monarch as the rightful head of the English Church, and heavy fines were imposed for the failure to attend Protestant worship. Two hundred Catholic priests are said to have been executed under Elizabeth, Mary's sister, who succeeded her on the throne; others were tortured or perished miserably in prison.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 61. How did the Swiss Confederation originate? Describe the reforms begun by Zwingli. Who was Calvin, and what are his claims to distinction?

SECTION 62. Mention the chief contemporaries of Erasmus. What was the policy of Wolsey? Describe the divorce case of Henry VIII. In what way did Henry VIII break away from the papacy? What reforms did he introduce? What was the dissolution of the monasteries?

SECTION 63. What happened during the reign of Edward VI? What was the policy of Queen Mary?

CHAPTER XVI

THE WARS OF RELIGION

The Council of Trent; the Jesuits

64. In the preceding chapters we have seen how northern Germany, England, and portions of Switzerland revolted from the papacy and established independent Protestant churches. A great part of western Europe, however, remained faithful to the pope and to the old beliefs which had been accepted for so many centuries. In order to consider the great question of reforming the Catholic Church and to settle disputed questions of religious belief a great church council was summoned by the pope to meet in Trent, on the confines of Germany and Italy, in the year 1545. Charles V hoped that the Protestants would come to the council and that their ideas might even yet be reconciled with those of the Catholics. But the Protestants did not come, for they were too suspicious of an assembly called by the pope to have any confidence in its decisions.

Council of Trent, 1545–1563

The Council of Trent was interrupted after a few sessions and did not complete its work for nearly twenty years after it first met. It naturally condemned the Protestant beliefs so far as they differed from the views held by the Catholics, and it sanctioned those doctrines which the Catholic Church still holds. It accepted the pope as the head of the Church; it declared accursed any one who, like Luther, believed that man would be saved by faith in God's promises alone; for the Church held that man, with God's help, could increase his hope of salvation by good works. It ratified all the seven sacraments, several of which the Protestants had rejected. The ancient Latin translation of the Bible — the Vulgate, as it is called — was proclaimed

the standard of belief, and no one was to publish any views about the Bible differing from those approved by the Church.

The "Index"

The Council suggested that the pope's officials should compile a list of dangerous books which faithful Catholics might not read for fear that their faith in the old Church would be disturbed. Accordingly, after the Council broke up, the pope issued the first "Index," or list of books which were not to be further printed or circulated on account of the false religious teachings they contained. Similar lists have since been printed from time to time. The establishment of this "Index of Prohibited Books" was one of the most famous of the Council's acts. It was hoped that in this way the spread of heretical and immoral ideas through the printing press could be checked.

Results of the reform of the Catholic Church

Although the Council of Trent would make no compromises with the Protestants, it took measures to do away with certain abuses of which both Protestants and devout Catholics complained. All clergymen were to attend strictly to their duties, and no one was to be appointed who merely wanted the income from his office. The bishops were ordered to preach regularly and to see that only good men were ordained priests. A great improvement actually took place — better men were placed in office and many practices which had formerly irritated the people were permanently abolished.

Ignatius Loyola, 1491–1556, the founder of the Jesuits

Among those who, during the final sessions of the Council, sturdily opposed every attempt to reduce in any way the exalted power of the pope, was the head of a new religious society which was becoming the most powerful Catholic organization in Europe. The Jesuit order, or Society of Jesus, was founded by a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. He had been a soldier in his younger days, and while bravely fighting for his king, Charles V, had been wounded by a cannon ball (1521). Obliged to lie inactive for weeks, he occupied his time in reading the lives of the saints and became filled with a burning ambition to emulate their deeds. Upon recovering, he dedicated himself to the service of the Church, donned a beggar's gown, and started on a pilgrimage

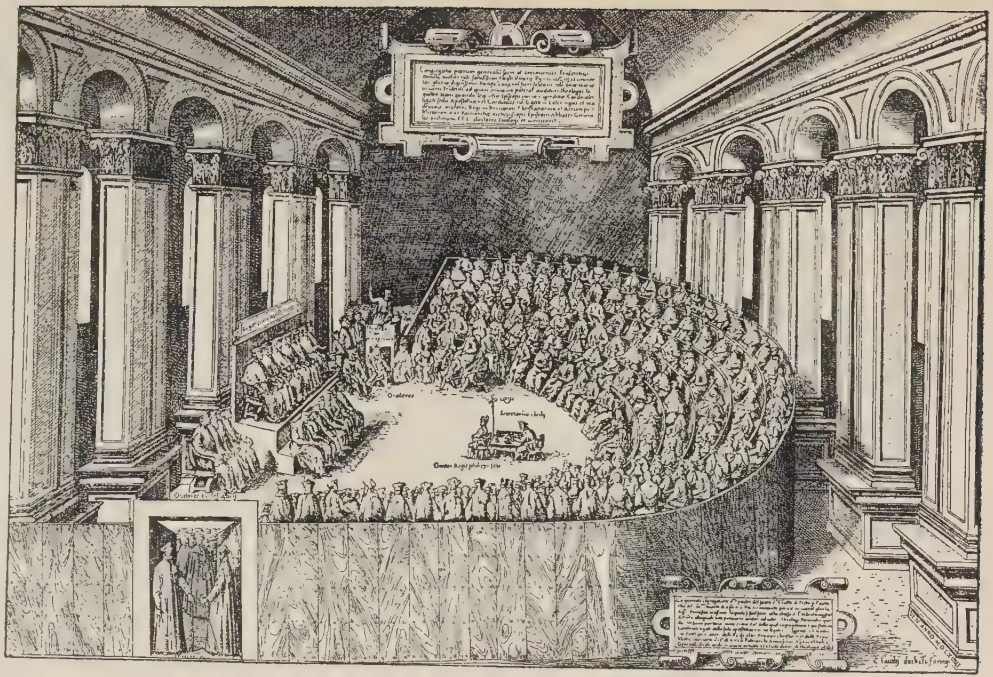


FIG. 85. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

The Council held its meetings, with long interruptions, from 1545 to 1563, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Trent. This engraving was made by a Venetian, just after the final adjournment of the Council. The legates of the pope are sitting on the raised platform, facing the assembly

to Jerusalem. Once there he began to realize that he could do little without an education. So he returned to Spain and, although already thirty-three years old, took his place beside the boys who were learning the elements of Latin grammar. After two years he entered a Spanish university, and later went to Paris to carry on his theological studies.

In Paris he sought to influence his fellow students at the university, and finally, in 1534, seven of his companions agreed to follow him to Palestine or, if they were prevented from doing that, to devote themselves to the service of the pope. On arriving in Venice they found that war had broken out between that republic and the Turks. They accordingly gave up their plan for converting the infidels in the Orient and began to preach in the neighboring towns. When asked to what order they belonged, they replied, "To the Society of Jesus."

Rigid organization and discipline of the Jesuits

In 1538 Loyola summoned his followers to Rome, and there they worked out the principles of their order. When this had been done the pope gave his sanction to the new society.[1] Loyola had been a soldier, and he laid great and constant stress upon absolute and unquestioning obedience. This he declared to be the mother of all virtue and happiness. Not only were all the members to obey the pope as Christ's representative on earth, and to undertake without hesitation any journey, no matter how distant or perilous, which he might command, but each was to obey his superiors in the order as if he were receiving directions from Christ in person. He must have no will or preference of his own, but must be as the staff which supports and aids its bearer in any way in which he sees fit to use it. This admirable organization and incomparable discipline were the great secret of the later influence of the Jesuits.

Objects and methods of the new order

The object of the society was to cultivate piety and the love of God, especially through example. The members were to pledge themselves to lead a pure life of poverty and devotion. A great number of its members were priests, who went about

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxviii.

preaching, hearing confession, and encouraging devotional exercises. But the Jesuits were teachers as well as preachers and confessors. They clearly perceived the advantage of bringing young people under their influence; they opened schools and seminaries and soon became the schoolmasters of Catholic

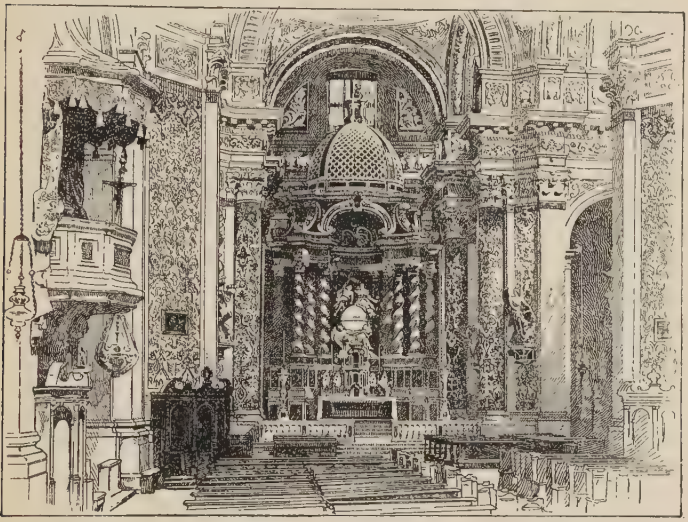


FIG. 86. PRINCIPAL JESUIT CHURCH IN VENICE

The Jesuits believed in erecting magnificent churches. This is a good example. The walls are inlaid with green marble in an elaborate pattern, and all the furnishings are very rich and gorgeous

Europe. So successful were their methods of instruction that even Protestants sometimes sent their children to them.

Rapid increase of the Jesuits in numbers

Before the death of Loyola over a thousand persons had joined the society. Under his successor the number was trebled, and it went on increasing for two centuries. The founder of the order had been, as we have seen, attracted to missionary work from the first, and the Jesuits rapidly spread not only over Europe but throughout the whole world. Francis Xavier,

Their missions and explorations

one of Loyola's original little band, went to Hindustan, the Moluccas, and Japan. Brazil, Florida, Mexico, and Peru were soon fields of active missionary work at a time when Protestants as yet scarcely dreamed of carrying Christianity to the heathen. We owe to the Jesuits' reports much of our knowledge of the condition of America when white men first began to explore Canada and the Mississippi valley, for the followers of Loyola boldly penetrated into regions unknown to Europeans, and settled among the natives with the purpose of bringing the Gospel to them.

Their fight against the Protestants

Dedicated as they were to the service of the pope, the Jesuits early directed their energies against Protestantism. They sent their members into Germany and the Netherlands, and even made strenuous efforts to reclaim England. Their success was most apparent in southern Germany and Austria, where they became the confessors and confidential advisers of the rulers. They not only succeeded in checking the progress of Protestantism, but were able to reconquer for the Catholic Church some districts in which the old faith had been abandoned.

Accusations brought against the Jesuits

Protestants soon realized that the new order was their most powerful and dangerous enemy. Their apprehensions produced a bitter hatred which blinded them to the high purposes of the founders of the order and led them to attribute an evil purpose to every act of the Jesuits. The Jesuits' air of humility the Protestants declared to be mere hypocrisy under which they carried on their intrigues. They were popularly supposed to justify the most deceitful and immoral measures on the ground that the result would be "for the greater glory of God." The very obedience on which the Jesuits laid such stress was viewed by the hostile Protestant as one of their worst offenses, for he believed that the members of the order were the blind tools of their superiors and that they would not hesitate even to commit a crime if so ordered.[1]

[1] As time went on the Jesuit order degenerated just as the earlier ones had done. In the eighteenth century it undertook great commercial enterprises, and for this and other reasons lost the confidence and respect of even the

Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands

Philip II, the chief enemy of Protestantism among the rulers of Europe

65. The chief ally of the pope and the Jesuits in their efforts to check Protestantism in the latter half of the sixteenth century was the son of Charles V, Philip II. Like the Jesuits he enjoys a most unenviable reputation among Protestants. Certain it is that they had no more terrible enemy among the rulers of the day than he. He eagerly forwarded every plan to attack England's Protestant queen, Elizabeth, and finally manned a mighty fleet with the purpose of overthrowing her (see below, p. 350). He resorted, moreover, to great cruelty in his attempts to bring back his possessions in the Netherlands to what he believed to be the true faith.

Division of the Hapsburg possessions between the German and Spanish branches

Charles V, crippled with the gout and old before his time, laid down the cares of government in 1555–1556. To his brother Ferdinand, who had acquired by marriage the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, Charles had earlier transferred the German possessions of the Hapsburgs. To his son, Philip II (1556–1598), he gave Spain with its great American colonies, Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Netherlands.[1]

Catholics. The king of Portugal was the first to banish the Jesuits from his kingdom, and then France, where they had long been very unpopular with an influential party of the Catholics, expelled them in 1764. Convinced that the order had outgrown its usefulness, the pope abolished it in 1773. It was, however, restored in 1814, and now again has thousands of members.

[1] Division of the Hapsburg possessions between the Spanish and the German branches:

Maximilian I (d. 1519), m. Mary of Burgundy (d. 1482)
- Philip (d. 1506), m. Joanna the Insane (d. 1555)
  - Charles V (d. 1558), Emperor, 1519–1556
    - Philip II (d. 1598) inherits Spain, the Netherlands, and the Italian possessions of the Hapsburgs
  - Ferdinand (d. 1564), m. Anna, heiress to kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, Emperor, 1556–1564
    - Maximilian II (d. 1576) Emperor, and inherits Bohemia, Hungary, and the Austrian possessions of the Hapsburgs

The map of Europe in the sixteenth century (see above, p. 278) indicates the vast extent of the combined possessions of the Spanish and German Hapsburgs.

Philip II's fervent desire to stamp out Protestantism

Charles had constantly striven to maintain the old religion within his dominions. He had never hesitated to use the Inquisition in Spain and the Netherlands, and it was the great disappointment of his life that a part of his empire had become Protestant. He was, nevertheless, no fanatic. Like many of the princes of the time, he was forced to take sides on the religious question without, perhaps, himself having any deep religious sentiments. The maintenance of the Catholic faith he believed to be necessary in order that he should keep his hold upon his scattered and diverse dominions.

On the other hand, the whole life and policy of his son Philip were guided by a fervent attachment to the old religion. He was willing to sacrifice both himself and his country in his long fight against the detested Protestants within and without his realms. And he had vast resources at his disposal, for Spain was a strong power, not only on account of her income from America, but also because her soldiers and their commanders were the best in Europe at this period.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands, which were to cause Philip his first and greatest trouble, included seventeen provinces which Charles V had inherited from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. They occupied the position on the map where we now find the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Each of the provinces had its own government, but Charles V had grouped them together and arranged that the German Empire should protect them. In the north the hardy Germanic population had been able, by means of dikes which kept out the sea, to reclaim large tracts of lowlands. Here considerable cities had grown up — Harlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam. To the south were the flourishing towns of Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp, which had for hundreds of years been centers of manufacture and trade.

Charles V, in spite of some very harsh measures, had retained the loyalty of the people of the Netherlands, for he was himself one of them, and they felt a patriotic pride in his achievements.

Toward Philip II their attitude was very different. His haughty manner made a disagreeable impression upon the people at Brussels when his father first introduced him to them as their future ruler. He was to them a Spaniard and a foreigner, and he ruled them as such after he returned to Spain.

Philip II's harsh attitude toward the Netherlands

Fig. 87. Philip II, by Antonio Moro

Instead of attempting to win them by meeting their legitimate demands, he did everything to alienate all classes in his Burgundian realm and to increase their natural hatred and suspicion of the Spaniards. The people were forced to house Spanish soldiers whose insolence drove them nearly to desperation.

What was still worse, Philip proposed that the Inquisition (see above, p. 189) should carry on its work far more actively than hitherto and put an end to the heresy which appeared to

The Inquisition in the Netherlands

him to defile his fair realms. The Inquisition was no new thing to the provinces. Charles V had issued the most cruel edicts against the followers of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. According to a law of 1550, heretics who persistently refused to recant were to be burned alive. Even those who confessed their errors and abjured their heresy were, if men, to lose their heads; if women, to be buried alive. In either case their property was to be confiscated. The lowest estimate of those who were executed in the Netherlands during Charles's reign is fifty thousand. Although these terrible laws had not checked the growth of Protestantism, all of Charles's decrees were solemnly re-enacted by Philip in the first month of his reign.

Protest against Philip's policy

For ten years the people suffered Philip's rule; nevertheless their king, instead of listening to the protests of their leaders, who were quite as earnest Catholics as himself, appeared to be bent on the destruction of the land. So in 1566 some five hundred of the nobles ventured to protest against Philip's policy. Thereupon Philip took a step which led finally to the revolt of the Netherlands. He decided to dispatch to the low countries the remorseless Duke of Alva, whose conduct has made his name synonymous with blind and unmeasured cruelty.

Philip sends the Duke of Alva to the Netherlands

The report that Alva was coming caused the flight of many of those who especially feared his approach. William of Orange, who was to be the leader in the approaching war against Spain, went to Germany. Thousands of Flemish weavers fled across the North Sea, and the products of their looms became before long an important article of export from England.

Alva's cruel administration, 1567–1573

Alva brought with him a fine army of Spanish soldiers, ten thousand in number and superbly equipped. He appeared to think that the wisest and quickest way of pacifying the discontented provinces was to kill all those who ventured to criticize "the best of kings," of whom he had the honor to be the faithful servant. He accordingly established a special court for the speedy trial and condemnation of all those whose fidelity to Philip was suspected. This was popularly known as

the Council of Blood, for its aim was not justice but butchery. Alva's administration from 1567 to 1573 was a veritable reign of terror.

The Council of Blood

The Netherlands found a leader in William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau. He is a national hero whose career bears a striking resemblance to that of Washington. Like the American patriot, he undertook the seemingly hopeless task of freeing his people from the oppressive rule of a distant king. To the Spaniards he appeared to be only an impoverished nobleman at the head of a handful of armed peasants and fishermen, contending against the sovereign of the richest realm in the world.

William of Orange, called the Silent, 1533–1584

William had been a faithful subject of Charles V and would gladly have continued to serve his son after him had the oppression and injustice of the Spanish dominion not become intolerable. But Alva's policy convinced him that it was useless to send any more complaints to Philip. He accordingly collected a little army in 1568 and opened the long struggle with Spain.

William the Silent collects an army

William found his main support in the northern provinces, of which Holland was the chief. The Dutch, who had very generally accepted Protestant teachings, were purely German in blood, while the people of the southern provinces, who adhered (as they still do) to the Roman Catholic faith, were more akin to the population of northern France.

Differences between the northern, that is, Dutch, provinces and the southern

The Spanish soldiers found little trouble in defeating the troops which William collected. Like Washington, again, he seemed to lose almost every battle and yet was never conquered. The first successes of the Dutch were gained by the mariners who captured Spanish ships and sold them in Protestant England. Encouraged by this, many of the towns in the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand ventured to choose William as their governor, although they did not throw off their allegiance to Philip. In this way these two provinces became the nucleus of the United Netherlands.

William chosen governor of Holland and Zealand, 1572

Both the northern and southern provinces combine against Spain, 1576

Alva recaptured a number of the revolted towns and treated their inhabitants with his customary cruelty; even women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. But instead of quenching the rebellion, he aroused the Catholic southern provinces to revolt.

The "Spanish fury"

After six years of this tyrannical and mistaken policy, Alva was recalled. His successor soon died and left matters worse than ever. The leaderless soldiers, trained in Alva's school, indulged in wild orgies of robbery and murder; they plundered and partially reduced to ashes the rich city of Antwerp. The "Spanish fury," as this outbreak was called, together with the hated taxes, created such general indignation that representatives from all of Philip's Burgundian provinces met at Ghent in 1576 with the purpose of combining to put an end to the Spanish tyranny.

The Union of Utrecht

This union was, however, only temporary. Wiser and more moderate governors were sent by Philip to the Netherlands, and they soon succeeded in again winning the confidence of the southern Catholic provinces. So the northern provinces went their own way. Guided by William the Silent, they refused to consider the idea of again recognizing Philip as their king. In 1579 seven provinces (Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Friesland, all lying north of the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt) formed the new and firmer Union of Utrecht. The articles of this union served as a constitution for the United Provinces which, two years later, at last formally declared themselves independent of Spain.

The northern provinces declare themselves independent of Spain, 1581

Assassination of William the Silent

Philip realized that William was the soul of the revolt and that without him it might not improbably have been put down. The king therefore offered a patent of nobility and a large sum of money to any one who should make way with the Dutch patriot. After several unsuccessful attempts, William, who had been chosen hereditary governor of the United Provinces, was shot in his house at Delft, 1584. He died praying the Lord to have pity upon his soul and "on this poor people."

Reasons why the Dutch finally won their independence

The Dutch had long hoped for aid from Queen Elizabeth or from the French, but had heretofore been disappointed. At last the English queen decided to send troops to their assistance. While the English rendered but little actual help, Elizabeth's policy so enraged Philip that he at last decided to attempt the conquest of England. The destruction of the "Armada," the great fleet which he equipped for that purpose,[1] interfered with further attempts to subjugate the United Provinces, which might otherwise have failed to maintain their liberty. Moreover, Spain's resources were being rapidly exhausted, and the State was on the verge of bankruptcy in spite of the wealth which it had been drawing from across the sea. But even though Spain had to surrender the hope of winning back the lost provinces, which now became a small but important European power, she refused formally to acknowledge their independence until 1648 (Peace of Westphalia).

Independence of the United Provinces acknowledged by Spain, 1648

The Huguenot Wars in France

Beginnings of Protestantism in France

66. The history of France during the latter part of the sixteenth century is little more than a chronicle of a long and bloody series of civil wars between the Catholics and Protestants.

Protestantism began in France in much the same way as in England. Those who had learned from the Italians to love the Greek language turned to the New Testament in the original and commenced to study it with new insight. Lefèvre, the most conspicuous of these Erasmus-like reformers, translated the Bible into French and began to preach justification by faith before he had ever heard of Luther.

Lefèvre, 1450–1537

Persecution of the Protestants under Francis I

The Sorbonne, the famous theological school at Paris, soon began to arouse the suspicions of Francis I against the new ideas. He had no special interest in religious matters, but he was shocked by an act of desecration ascribed to the Protestants, and in consequence forbade the circulation of Protestant books. About 1535 several adherents of the new faith were burned,

[1] See below, p. 350.

and Calvin was forced to flee to Basel, where he prepared a defense of his beliefs in his *Institutes of Christianity* (see above, p. 313). This is prefaced by a letter to Francis in which he pleads with him to protect the Protestants.[1] Francis, before his death, became so intolerant that he ordered the massacre of three thousand defenseless peasants who dwelt on the slopes of the Alps, and whose only offense was adherence to the simple teachings of the Waldensians.[2]

Massacre of the Waldensians, 1545

Francis's son, Henry II (1547–1559), swore to extirpate the Protestants, and hundreds of them were burned. Nevertheless, Henry II's religious convictions did not prevent him from willingly aiding the German Protestants against his enemy Charles V, especially when they agreed to hand over to him three bishoprics which lay on the French boundary — Metz, Verdun, and Toul.

Persecution under Henry II, 1547–1559

Henry II was accidentally killed in a tourney and left his kingdom to three weak sons, the last scions of the House of Valois, who succeeded in turn to the throne during a period of unprecedented civil war and public calamity. The eldest son, Francis II, a boy of sixteen, followed his father. His chief importance for France arose from his marriage with the daughter of King James V of Scotland, Mary Stuart, who became famous as Mary Queen of Scots. Her mother was the sister of two very ambitious French nobles, the Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. Francis II was so young that Mary's uncles, the Guises, eagerly seized the opportunity to manage his affairs for him. The duke put himself at the head of the army, and the cardinal of the government. When the king died, after reigning but a year, the Guises were naturally reluctant to surrender their power, and many of the woes of France for the next forty years were due to the machinations which they carried on in the name of the Holy Catholic religion.

Francis II, 1559–1560, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Guises

The new king, Charles IX (1560–1574), was but ten years old, so that his mother, Catherine of Medici, of the famous

The queen-mother, Catherine of Medici

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxviii. [2] See above, p. 188.

Florentine family, claimed the right to conduct the government for her son until he reached manhood.

By this time the Protestants in France had become a powerful party. They were known as *Huguenots*[1] and accepted the

FIG. 88. FRANCIS II OF FRANCE

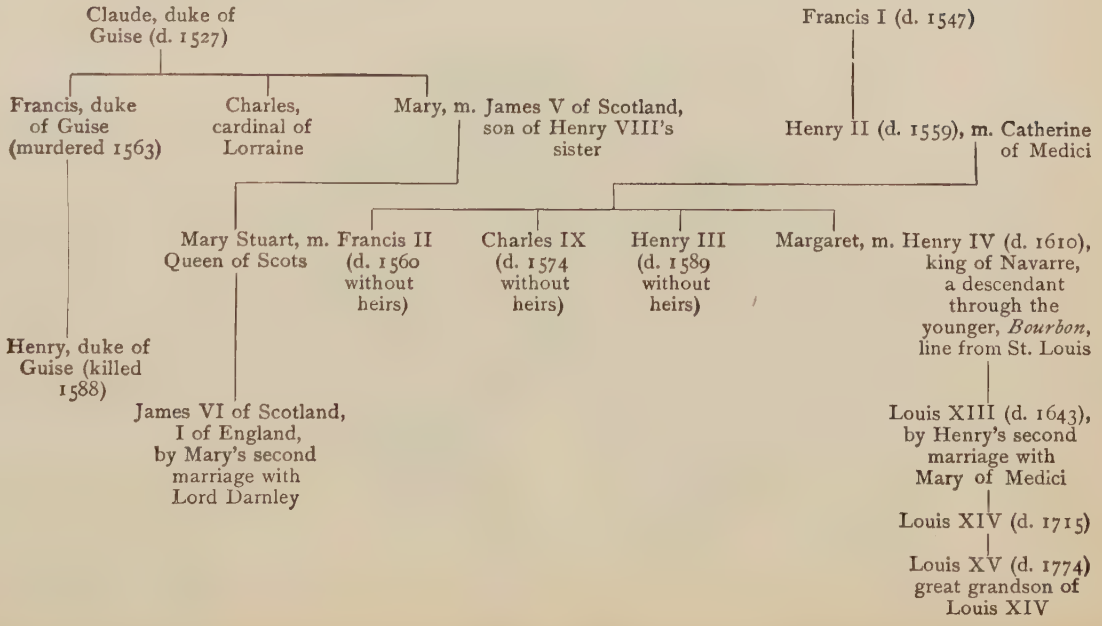
This is from a contemporaneous engraving. The boy king, the first husband of Mary Queen of Scots, died when he was only 17 years old

religious teachings of their fellow countryman, Calvin. Many of them, including their great leader Coligny, belonged to the nobility. They had a strong support in the king of the little realm of Navarre, on the southern boundary of France. He

The Huguenots and their political aims

[1] The origin of this name is uncertain.

RELATIONS OF THE GUISES, MARY STUART, THE VALOIS, AND THE BOURBONS


Claude, duke of Guise (d. 1527)
Francis, duke of Guise (murdered 1563)
Charles, cardinal of Lorraine
Mary, m. James V of Scotland, son of Henry VIII's sister
Francis I (d. 1547)
Henry II (d. 1559), m. Catherine of Medici
Mary Stuart, m. Queen of Scots
Francis II (d. 1560 without heirs)
Charles IX (d. 1574 without heirs)
Henry III (d. 1589 without heirs)
Margaret, m. Henry IV (d. 1610), king of Navarre, a descendant through the younger, *Bourbon*, line from St. Louis
Henry, duke of Guise (killed 1588)
James VI of Scotland, I of England, by Mary's second marriage with Lord Darnley
Louis XIII (d. 1643), by Henry's second marriage with Mary of Medici
Louis XIV (d. 1715)
Louis XV (d. 1774) great grandson of Louis XIV

belonged to a side line of the French royal house, known as the Bourbons, who were later to occupy the French throne (see genealogical table, opposite). It was inevitable that the Huguenots should try to get control of the government, and they consequently formed a *political* as well as a *religious* party and were often fighting, in the main, for worldly ends.

The Bourbons

Catherine tried at first to conciliate both Catholics and Huguenots, and granted a Decree of Toleration (1562) suspending the former edicts against the Protestants and permitting them to assemble for worship during the daytime and outside of the towns. Even this restricted toleration of the Protestants appeared an abomination to the more fanatical Catholics, and a savage act of the Duke of Guise precipitated civil war.

Catherine grants conditional toleration to the Protestants, 1562

As he was passing through the town of Vassy on a Sunday he found a thousand Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. The duke's followers rudely interrupted the service, and a tumult arose in which the troops killed a considerable number of the defenseless multitude. The news of this massacre aroused the Huguenots and was the beginning of a war which continued, broken only by short truces, until the last weak descendant of the House of Valois ceased to reign. As in the other religious wars of the time, both sides exhibited the most inhuman cruelty. France was filled for a generation with burnings, pillage, and every form of barbarity. The leaders of both the Catholic and Protestant parties, as well as two of the French kings themselves, fell by the hands of assassins, and France renewed in civil war all the horrors of the English invasion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The massacre of Vassy and the opening of the wars of religion

In 1570 a brief peace was concluded. The Huguenots were to be tolerated, and certain towns were assigned to them, where they might defend themselves in case of renewed attacks from the Catholics. For a time both Charles IX and his mother, Catherine of Medici, were on the friendliest terms with the Huguenot leader Coligny, who became a sort of prime minister. He was anxious that Catholics and Protestants should join in

Coligny's influence and plan for a national war against Philip II

a great national war against France's old enemy, Spain. In this way the whole people of France might sink their religious differences in a patriotic effort to win Franche-Comté (see above, p. 279), which seemed naturally to belong to France rather than to Spain.

Plot against Coligny

The strict Catholic party of the Guises frustrated this plan by a most fearful expedient. They easily induced Catherine of Medici to believe that she was being deceived by Coligny, and an assassin was engaged to put him out of the way; but the scoundrel missed his aim and only wounded his victim. Fearful lest the young king, who was faithful to Coligny, should discover her part in the attempted murder, Catherine invented a story of a great Huguenot conspiracy. The credulous king was deceived, and the Catholic leaders at Paris arranged that at a given signal not only Coligny, but all the Huguenots, who had gathered in great numbers in the city to witness the marriage of the king's sister to the Protestant Henry of Navarre, should be massacred on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 23, 1572).

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572

The signal was duly given, and no less than two thousand persons were ruthlessly murdered in Paris before the end of the next day. The news of this attack spread into the provinces, and it is probable that, at the very least, ten thousand more Protestants were put to death outside of the capital. Civil war again broke out, and the Catholics formed the famous Holy League, under the leadership of Henry of Guise, for the advancement of their interests, the destruction of the Huguenots, and the extirpation of heresy.

The Holy League

Question of the succession to the French throne

Henry III (1574-1589), the last of the sons of Henry II, who succeeded Charles IX, had no heirs, and the great question of succession arose. The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was the nearest male relative, but the League could never consent to permit the throne of France to be sullied by heresy, especially as their leader, Henry of Guise, was himself anxious to become king.

Henry III was driven weakly from one party to the other, and it finally came to a war between the three Henrys — Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise (1585–1589). It ended in a way characteristic of the times. Henry the king had Henry of Guise assassinated. The sympathizers of the

War of the three Henrys, 1585–1589

FIG. 89. HENRY IV OF FRANCE

This spirited portrait of Henry of Navarre gives an excellent impression of his geniality and good sense

League then assassinated Henry the king, which left the field to Henry of Navarre. He ascended the throne as Henry IV in 1589 and is an heroic figure in the line of French kings.

The new king had many enemies, and his kingdom was devastated and demoralized by years of war. He soon saw that he must accept the religion of the majority of his people if he wished to reign over them. He accordingly asked to be readmitted to the Catholic Church (1593), excusing himself on the

Henry IV, 1589-1610, becomes a Catholic

ground that "Paris was worth a mass." He did not forget his old friends, however, and in 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes.

The Edict of Nantes, 1598

By this edict of toleration the Calvinists were permitted to hold services in all the towns and villages where they had previously held them, but in Paris and a number of other towns all Protestant services were prohibited. The Protestants were to enjoy the same political rights as Catholics, and to be eligible to government offices. A number of fortified towns were to remain in the hands of the Huguenots, particularly La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes. Henry's only mistake lay in granting the Huguenots the right to control fortified towns. In the next generation this privilege aroused the suspicion of the king's minister, Richelieu, who attacked the Huguenots, not so much on religious grounds as on account of their independent position in the state, which suggested that of the older feudal nobles.

Ministry of Sully

Henry IV chose Sully, an upright and able Calvinist, for his chief minister. Sully set to work to reëstablish the kingly power, which had suffered greatly under the last three brothers of the House of Valois. He undertook to lighten the tremendous burden of debt which weighed upon the country. He laid out new roads and canals, and encouraged agriculture and commerce; he dismissed the useless noblemen and officers whom the government was supporting without any advantage to itself. Had his administration not been prematurely interrupted, it might have brought France unprecedented power and prosperity; but religious fanaticism put an end to his reforms.

Assassination of Henry IV, 1610

In 1610 Henry IV, like William the Silent, was assassinated just in the midst of his greatest usefulness to his country. Sully could not agree with the regent, Henry's widow, and so gave up his position and retired to private life.

Richelieu

Before many years Richelieu, perhaps the greatest minister France has ever had, rose to power, and from 1624 to his death in 1642 he governed France for Henry IV's son, Louis XIII (1610–1643). Something will be said of his policy in connection with the Thirty Years' War (see section 68).

England under Queen Elizabeth

England under Elizabeth, 1558–1603

67. The long and disastrous civil war between Catholics and Protestants, which desolated France in the sixteenth century, had happily no counterpart in England. During her long reign Queen Elizabeth succeeded not only in maintaining peace at home, but in frustrating the conspiracies and attacks of Philip II, which threatened her realm from without. Moreover, by her interference in the Netherlands, she did much to secure their independence of Spain.

Elizabeth restores the Protestant service and establishes the Church of England

Upon the death of Catholic Mary and the accession of her sister Elizabeth in 1558, the English government became once more Protestant. The new queen had a new revised edition issued of the Book of Common Prayer which had been prepared in the time of her brother, Edward VI. This contained the services which the government ordered to be performed in all the churches of England. All her subjects were required to accept the queen's views and to go to church, and ministers were to use nothing but the official prayer book. Elizabeth did not adopt the Presbyterian system advocated by Calvin but retained many features of the Catholic church, including the bishops and archbishops. So the Anglican church followed a middle path halfway between Lutherans and Calvinists on the one hand and Catholics on the other.

The Catholic churchmen who had held positions under Queen Mary were naturally dismissed and replaced by those who would obey Elizabeth and use her Book of Prayer. Her first Parliament gave the sovereign the *powers* of supreme head of the Church of England, although the *title*, which her father, Henry VIII, had assumed, was not revived.

The English Church still survives in its original form

The Church of England still exists in much the same form in which it was established in the first years of Elizabeth's reign and the prayer book is still used, although Englishmen are no longer required to attend church and may hold any religious views they please without being interfered with by the government.

Presbyterian Church established in Scotland

While England adopted a middle course in religious matters Scotland became Presbyterian, and this led to much trouble for Elizabeth. There, shortly after her accession, the ancient Catholic Church was abolished, for the nobles were anxious to get

FIG. 90. PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Elizabeth deemed herself a very handsome and imposing person. She was fond of fine clothes and doubtless had on her best when she sat for her portrait

the lands of the bishops into their own hands and enjoy the revenue from them. John Knox, a veritable second Calvin in his stern energy, secured the introduction of the Presbyterian form of faith and church government which still prevail in Scotland.

Mary Stuart, the Scotch queen, becomes the hope of the Catholics

In 1561 the Scotch queen, Mary Stuart, whose French husband, Francis II, had just died, landed at Leith. She was but nineteen years old, of great beauty and charm, and, by reason of her Catholic faith and French training, almost a foreigner to her subjects. Her grandmother was a sister of Henry VIII, and Mary claimed to be the rightful heiress to the English throne should Elizabeth die childless. Consequently the beautiful Queen of Scots became the hope of all those who wished to bring back England and Scotland to the Roman Catholic faith. Chief among these were Philip II of Spain and Mary's relatives the Guises in France.

Mary's suspicious conduct

Mary quickly discredited herself with both Protestants and Catholics by her conduct. After marrying her second cousin, Lord Darnley, she discovered that he was a dissolute scapegrace and came to despise him. She then formed an attachment for a reckless nobleman named Bothwell. The house near Edinburgh in which Darnley was lying ill was blown up one night with gunpowder, and he was killed. The public suspected that both Bothwell and the queen were implicated. How far Mary was responsible for her husband's death no one can be sure. It is certain that she later married Bothwell and that her indignant subjects thereupon deposed her as a murderess. After fruitless attempts to regain her power, she abdicated in favor of her infant son, James VI, and then fled to England to appeal to Elizabeth. While the prudent Elizabeth denied the right of the Scotch to depose their queen, she took good care to keep her rival practically a prisoner.

Mary flees to England, 1568

The rising in the north, 1569, and the Catholic plans for deposing Elizabeth

As time went on it became increasingly difficult for Elizabeth to adhere to her policy of moderation in the treatment of the Catholics. A rising in the north of England (1569) showed that there were many who would gladly reëstablish the Catholic faith by freeing Mary and placing her on the English throne. This was followed by the excommunication of Elizabeth by the pope, who at the same time absolved her subjects from their allegiance to their heretical ruler. Happily for Elizabeth the

rebels could look for no help either from Philip II or the French king. The Spaniards had their hands full, for the war in the Netherlands had just begun; and Charles IX, who had accepted Coligny as his adviser, was at that moment in hearty accord with the Huguenots. The rising in the north was suppressed, but the English Catholics continued to look to Philip for help. They opened correspondence with Alva and invited him to come with six thousand Spanish troops to dethrone Elizabeth and make Mary Stuart queen of England in her stead. Alva hesitated, for he characteristically thought that it would be better to kill Elizabeth, or at least capture her. Meanwhile the plot was discovered and came to naught.

English mariners capture Spanish ships

Although Philip found himself unable to harm England, the English mariners caused great loss to Spain. In spite of the fact that Spain and England were not openly at war, Elizabeth's seamen extended their operations as far as the West Indies, and seized Spanish treasure ships, with the firm conviction that in robbing Philip they were serving God. The daring Sir Francis Drake even ventured into the Pacific, where only the Spaniards had gone heretofore, and carried off much booty on his little vessel, the *Pelican*. At last he took "a great vessel with jewels in plenty, thirteen chests of silver coin, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver." He then sailed around the world, and on his return presented his jewels to Elizabeth, who paid little attention to the expostulations of the king of Spain.

Relations between England and Catholic Ireland

One hope of the Catholics has not yet been mentioned, namely, Ireland, whose relations with England from very early times down to the present day form one of the most cheerless pages in the history of Europe. The population was divided into numerous clans, and their chieftains fought constantly with one another as well as with the English, who were vainly endeavoring to subjugate the island. Under Henry II and later kings England had conquered a district in the eastern part of Ireland, and here the English managed to maintain a foothold in spite of the anarchy outside. Henry VIII had

suppressed a revolt of the Irish and assumed the title of king of Ireland. Queen Mary of England had hoped to promote better relations by colonizing Kings County and Queens County with Englishmen. This led, however, to a long struggle which only ended when the colonists had killed all the natives in the district they occupied.

Elizabeth's interest in the perennial Irish question was stimulated by the probability that Ireland might become a basis for Catholic operations, since Protestantism had made little progress among its people. Her fears were realized. Several attempts were made by Catholic leaders to land troops in Ireland with the purpose of making the island the base for an attack on England. Elizabeth's officers were able to frustrate these enterprises, but the resulting disturbances greatly increased the misery of the Irish. In 1582 no less than thirty thousand people are said to have perished, chiefly from starvation.

Persecution of the English Catholics

As Philip's troops began to get the better of the opposition in the southern Netherlands, the prospect of sending a Spanish army to England grew brighter. Two Jesuits were sent to England in 1580 to strengthen the adherents of their faith and urge them to assist the foreign force against their queen when it should come. Parliament now grew more intolerant and ordered fines and imprisonment to be inflicted on those who said or heard mass, or who refused to attend the English services. One of the Jesuit emissaries was cruelly tortured and executed for treason, the other escaped to the Continent.

Plans to assassinate Elizabeth

In the spring of 1582 the first attempt by the Catholics to assassinate the heretical queen was made at Philip's instigation. It was proposed that, when Elizabeth was out of the way, the Duke of Guise should see that an army was sent to England in the interest of the Catholics. But Guise was kept busy at home by the War of the Three Henrys, and Philip was left to undertake the invasion of England by himself.

Mary Queen of Scots did not live to witness the attempt. She became implicated in another plot for the assassination of

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587

Elizabeth. Parliament now realized that as long as Mary lived Elizabeth's life was in constant danger; whereas, if Mary were out of the way, Philip II would have no interest in the death of Elizabeth, since Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, who would succeed Elizabeth on the English throne, was a Protestant. Elizabeth was therefore reluctantly persuaded by her advisers to sign a warrant for Mary's execution in 1587.

Destruction of the Spanish Armada, 1588

Philip II, however, by no means gave up his project of reclaiming Protestant England. In 1588 he brought together a great fleet, including his best and largest warships, which was proudly called by the Spaniards the "Invincible Armada" (that is, fleet). This was to sail through the English Channel to the Netherlands and bring over the Duke of Parma and his veterans, who, it was expected, would soon make an end of Elizabeth's raw militia. The English ships were inferior to those of Spain in size although not in number, but they had trained commanders, such as Francis Drake and Hawkins.

These famous captains had long sailed the Spanish Main and knew how to use their cannon without getting near enough to the Spaniards to suffer from their short-range weapons. When the Armada approached, it was permitted by the English fleet to pass up the Channel before a strong wind, which later became a storm. The English ships then followed, and both fleets were driven past the coast of Flanders. Of the hundred and twenty Spanish ships, only fifty-four returned home; the rest had been destroyed by English valor or by the gale to which Elizabeth herself ascribed the victory. The defeat of the Armada put an end to the danger from Spain.

Prospects of the Catholic cause at the opening of the reign of Philip II

As we look back over the period covered by the reign of Philip II, it is clear that it was a most notable one in the history of the Catholic Church. When he ascended the throne in 1556 Germany, as well as Switzerland and the Netherlands, had become largely Protestant. England, however, under his Catholic wife, Mary, seemed to be turning back to the old religion, while

the French monarchs showed no inclination to tolerate the heretical Calvinists. Moreover, the new and enthusiastic order of the Jesuits promised to be a powerful agency in inducing the Protestants to accept once more the supremacy of the pope and the doctrines of the Catholic Church as formulated by the Council of Trent. The tremendous power and apparently boundless resources of Spain itself, which were viewed by the rest of Europe with terror, Philip was prepared to dedicate to the destruction of Protestantism throughout western Europe.

Outcome of Philip's policy

But when Philip II died in 1598 all was changed. England was hopelessly Protestant: the "Invincible Armada" had been miserably wrecked and Philip's plan for bringing England once more within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church was forever frustrated. In France the terrible wars of religion were over, and a powerful king, lately a Protestant himself, was on the throne, who not only tolerated the Protestants but chose one of them for his chief minister and would brook no more meddling of Spain in French affairs. A new Protestant state, the United Netherlands, had actually appeared within the bounds of the realm bequeathed to Philip by his father. In spite of its small size this state was destined to play, from that time on, quite as important a part in European affairs as the harsh Spanish stepmother from whose control it had escaped.

Decline of Spain after the sixteenth century

Spain itself had suffered most of all from Philip's reign. His domestic policy and his expensive wars had sadly weakened the country. The income from across the sea was bound to decrease as the mines were exhausted. The final expulsion of the industrious Moors, shortly after Philip's death (see above, p. 272), left the indolent Spaniards to till their own fields, which rapidly declined in fertility under their careless cultivation. Some one once ventured to tell a Spanish king that "not gold and silver but sweat is the most precious metal, a coin which is always current and never depreciates"; but it was a rare form of currency in the Spanish peninsula. After Philip II's death Spain sank to the rank of a secondary European power.

The Thirty Years' War

The Thirty Years' War really a series of wars

68. The last great conflict caused by the differences between the Catholics and Protestants was fought out in Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century. It is generally known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), but there was in reality a series of wars; and although the fighting was done upon German territory, Sweden, France, and Spain played quite as important a part in the struggle as the various German states.

Weaknesses of the Peace of Augsburg

Just before the abdication of Charles V, the Lutheran princes had forced the emperor to acknowledge their right to their own religion and to the church property which they had appropriated. The religious Peace of Augsburg had, however, as we have seen,[1] two great weaknesses. In the first place only those Protestants who held the Lutheran faith were to be tolerated. The Calvinists, who were increasing in numbers, were not included in the peace. In the second place the peace did not put a stop to the seizure of church property by the Protestant princes.

Spread of Protestantism

Protestantism, however, made rapid progress and invaded the Austrian possessions and, above all, Bohemia. So it looked for a time as if even the Catholic Hapsburgs were to see large portions of their territory falling away from the old Church. But the Catholics had in the Jesuits a band of active and efficient missionaries. They not only preached and founded schools, but also succeeded in gaining the confidence of some of the German princes, whose chief advisers they became. Conditions were very favorable, at the opening of the seventeenth century, for a renewal of the religious struggle.

Opening of the Thirty Years' War, 1618

The long war began in Bohemia in 1618. This portion of the Austrian possessions was strongly Protestant and decided that the best policy was to declare its independence of the Hapsburgs and set up a king of its own. It chose Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate, a Calvinist who would, it was hoped,

[1] See above, p. 309.

enjoy the support of his father-in-law, King James I of England.[1] So Frederick and his English wife moved from Heidelberg to Prague. But their stay there was brief, for the Hapsburg emperor (Ferdinand II) with the aid of the ruler of Bavaria put to flight the poor "winter king," as Frederick was called on account of his reign of a single season.

Denmark intervenes

This was regarded as a serious defeat by the Protestants, and the Protestant king of Denmark decided to intervene. He remained in Germany for four years, but was so badly beaten by the emperor's able general, Wallenstein, that he retired from the conflict in 1629.

The Edict of Restitution, 1629

The emperor was encouraged by the successes of the Catholic armies in defeating the Bohemian and Danish Protestant armies to issue that same year an Edict of Restitution. In this he ordered the Protestants throughout Germany to give back all the church possessions which they had seized since the religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). These included two archbishoprics (Magdeburg and Bremen), nine bishoprics, about one hundred and twenty monasteries, and other church foundations. Moreover, he decreed that only the Lutherans might hold religious meetings; the other "sects," including the Calvinists, were to be broken up. As Wallenstein was preparing to execute this decree in his usual merciless fashion, the war took a new turn.

Dismissal of Wallenstein; appearance of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, 1594–1632

The Catholic League, which had been formed some time before, had become jealous of a general who threatened to become too powerful, and it accordingly joined in the complaints, which came from every side, of the terrible extortions and incredible cruelty practiced by Wallenstein's troops. The emperor consented, therefore, to dismiss this most competent commander. Just as the Catholics were thus weakened, a new enemy arrived upon the scene who proved far more dangerous than any they had yet had to face, namely Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.

[1] James VI of Scotland who succeeded Queen Elizabeth in 1603.

The kingdom of Sweden

We have had no occasion hitherto to speak of the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which the northern German peoples had established about Charlemagne's time; but from now on they begin to take part in the affairs of central Europe. The Union of Calmar (1397) had brought these three kingdoms, previously separate, under a single ruler. About the time that the Protestant revolt began in Germany the union was broken by the withdrawal of Sweden, which became an independent kingdom. Gustavus Vasa, a Swedish noble, led the movement and was subsequently chosen king of Sweden (1523). In the same year Protestantism was introduced. Vasa confiscated the church lands, got the better of the aristocracy, — who had formerly made the kings a great deal of trouble, — and started Sweden on its way toward national greatness.

Gustavus Vasa, 1523–1560

Motives of Gustavus Adolphus in invading Germany, 1630

Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) was induced to invade Germany for two reasons. In the first place, he was a sincere and enthusiastic Protestant and by far the most generous and attractive figure of his time. He was genuinely afflicted by the misfortunes of his Protestant brethren and anxious to devote himself to their welfare. Secondly, he undoubtedly hoped by his invasion not only to free his fellow Protestants from the oppression of the Emperor and of the Catholic League, but to gain a strip of German territory for Sweden.

Destruction of Magdeburg, 1631

Gustavus was not received with much cordiality at first by the Protestant princes of the north, but they were brought to their senses by the awful destruction of Magdeburg by the troops of the Catholic League under General Tilly. Magdeburg was the most important town of northern Germany. When it finally succumbed after an obstinate and difficult siege, twenty thousand of its inhabitants were killed and the town burned to the ground. Although Tilly's reputation for cruelty is quite equal to that of Wallenstein, he was probably not responsible for the fire. After Gustavus Adolphus had met Tilly near Leipsic and victoriously routed the army of the League, the Protestant princes began to look with more favor on the foreigner.

Gustavus Adolphus victorious at Breitenfeld, 1631

Wallenstein recalled

The next spring Gustavus entered Bavaria and once more defeated Tilly (who was mortally wounded in the battle) and forced Munich to surrender. There seemed now to be no reason why he should not continue his progress to Vienna. At this juncture the emperor recalled Wallenstein, who collected a new army over which he was given absolute command. After some delay Gustavus met Wallenstein on the field of Lützen, in November, 1632, where, after a fierce struggle, the Swedes gained the victory. But they lost their leader and Protestantism its hero, for the Swedish king ventured too far into the lines of the enemy and was surrounded and killed.

Gustavus Adolphus killed at Lützen, 1632

Murder of Wallenstein

The Swedes did not, however, retire from Germany, but continued to participate in the war, which now degenerated into a series of raids by leaders whose soldiers depopulated the land by their unspeakable atrocities. Wallenstein, who had long been detested by even the Catholics, was deserted by his soldiers and murdered (in 1634), to the great relief of all parties.

Richelieu renews the struggle of France against the Hapsburgs

Just at this moment Richelieu[1] decided that it would be to the interest of France to renew the old struggle with the Hapsburgs by sending troops against the emperor. France was still shut in, as she had been since the time of Charles V, by the Hapsburg lands. Except on the side toward the ocean her boundaries were in the main artificial ones, and not those established by great rivers and mountains. She therefore longed to weaken her enemy and strengthen herself by winning Roussillon on the south, and so make the crest of the Pyrenees the line of demarcation between France and Spain. She dreamed, too, of extending her sway toward the Rhine by adding the county of Burgundy (that is, Franche-Comté) and a number of fortified towns which would afford protection against the Spanish Netherlands.

Richelieu's intervention prolongs the war

Richelieu declared war against Spain in May, 1635. He had already concluded an alliance with the chief enemies of the House of Austria. So the war was renewed, and French,

[1] See above, p. 344.

Swedish, Spanish, and German soldiers ravaged an already exhausted country for a decade longer. The dearth of provisions was so great that the armies had to move quickly from place to place in order to avoid starvation. After a serious defeat by the Swedes, the emperor (Ferdinand III, 1637–1657)

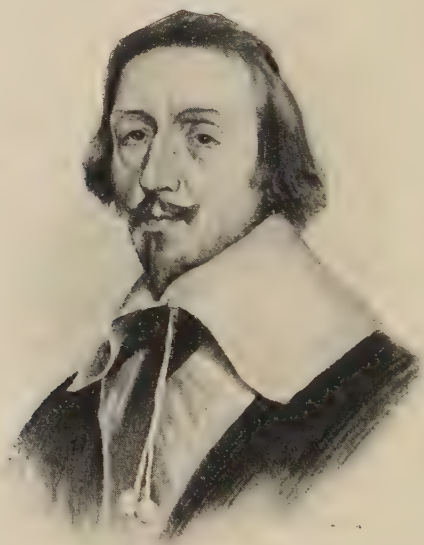


FIG. 91. PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU, FROM A CONTEMPORANEOUS PAINTING

sent a Dominican monk to expostulate with Cardinal Richelieu for his crime in aiding the German and Swedish heretics against Catholic Austria.

France succeeds Spain in the military supremacy of western Europe

The cardinal had, however, just died (December, 1642), well content with the results of his diplomacy. The French were in possession of Roussillon and of Lorraine and Alsace. The military exploits of the French generals, especially Turenne and Condé, during the opening years of the reign of Louis XIV

(1643–1715), showed that a new period had begun in which the military and political supremacy of Spain was to give way to that of France (see Chapter XVIII).

Close of the Thirty Years' War, 1648

The participants in the war were now so numerous and their objects so various and conflicting that it is not strange that it required some years to arrange the conditions of peace, even after every one was ready for it. It was agreed (1644) that France and the Empire should negotiate at Münster, and the emperor and the Swedes at Osnabrück — both of which towns lie in Westphalia. For four years the representatives of the several powers worked upon the difficult problem of satisfying every one, but at last the treaties of Westphalia were signed late in 1648.

Provisions of the treaties of Westphalia

The religious troubles in Germany were settled by extending the toleration of the Peace of Augsburg so as to include the Calvinists as well as the Lutherans. The Protestant princes were to retain the lands which they had in their possession in the year 1624, regardless of the Edict of Restitution, and each ruler was still to have the right to determine the religion of his state. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire was practically acknowledged by permitting the individual states to make treaties among themselves and with foreign powers; this was equivalent to recognizing the practical independence which they had, as a matter of fact, already long enjoyed. While portions of northern Germany were ceded to Sweden, this territory did not cease to form a part of the Empire, for Sweden was thereafter to have three votes in the German diet.

The emperor also ceded to France three important towns — Metz, Verdun, and Toul — and all his rights in Alsace, although the city of Strassburg was to remain with the Empire. Lastly, the independence both of the United Netherlands and of Switzerland was acknowledged.

Disastrous results of the war in Germany

The accounts of the misery and depopulation of Germany caused by the Thirty Years' War are well-nigh incredible. Thousands of villages were wiped out altogether; in some

regions the population was reduced by one half, in others to a third, or even less, of what it had been at the opening of the conflict. The flourishing city of Augsburg was left with but sixteen thousand souls instead of eighty thousand. The people were fearfully barbarized by privation and suffering and by the atrocities of the soldiers of all the various nations. Until the end of the eighteenth century Germany remained too exhausted and impoverished to make any considerable contribution to the culture of Europe.

The Beginnings of our Scientific Age

The new science

69. The battles of the Thirty Years' War are now well-nigh forgot, and few people are interested in Tilly and Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus. It seems as if the war did little but destroy men's lives and property, and that no great ends were accomplished by all the suffering it involved. But during the years that it raged certain men were quietly devoting themselves to scientific research which was to change the world more than all the battles that have ever been fought. These men adopted a new method. They perceived that the books of ancient writers, especially Aristotle, which were used as textbooks in the universities, were full of statements that could not be proved. They maintained that the only way to advance science was to set to work and try experiments, and by careful thought and investigation to determine the laws of nature without regard to what previous generations had thought.

The discovery of Copernicus

The Polish astronomer Copernicus published a work in 1543 in which he refuted the old idea that the sun and all the stars revolved around the earth as a center, as was then taught in all the universities. He showed that, on the contrary, the sun was the center about which the earth and the rest of the planets revolved, and that the reason that the stars seem to go around the earth each day is because our globe revolves on its axis. Although Copernicus had been encouraged to write his

book by a cardinal and had dedicated it to the pope, the Catholic as well as the Protestant theologians declared that the new theory did not correspond with the teachings of the Bible, and they therefore rejected it. But we know now that Copernicus was

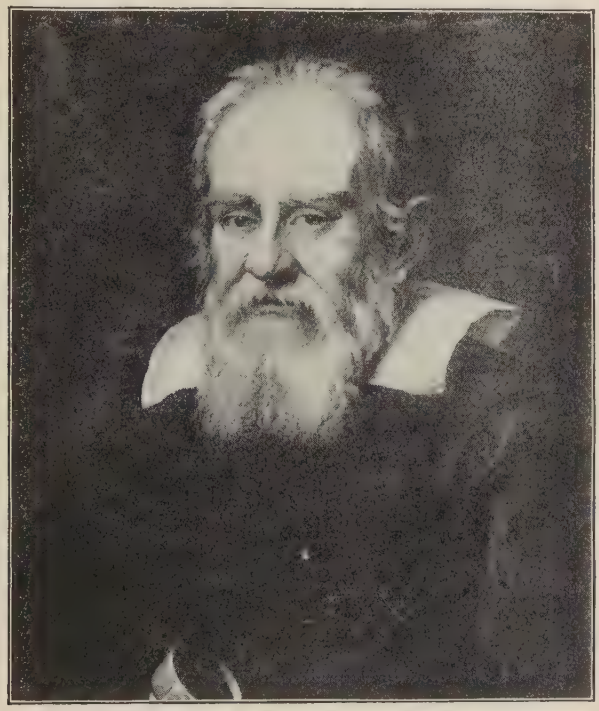


FIG. 92. GALILEO

right and the theologians and universities wrong. The earth is a mere speck in the universe, and even the sun is a relatively small body compared with many of the stars, and so far as we know the universe as a whole has no center.

Galileo

The Italian scientist Galileo (1564–1642), by the use of a little telescope he contrived, was able in 1610 to see the spots

on the sun; these indicated that the sun was not, as Aristotle had taught, a perfect, unchanging body, and showed also that it revolved on its axis, as Copernicus had guessed that the earth did. Galileo made careful experiments by dropping objects from

Rene des Cartes Philosophe
et Gentilhomme François né en Touraine
ne a desiré en Suede l'an 1650 agé de 54 ans
Definir la Nature et de l'ame et du Corps,
De la Terre et du Ciel descouvrir les ressorts,
Dun être Souverain demontrer l'existence,
Voila quel fut l'employ de René du Perron,
Et luy seul eut plus de Science
Que n'en auroit ensemble Aristote et Platon.

FIG. 93. RENÉ DESCARTES

the leaning tower of Pisa (Fig. 45), which proved that Aristotle was wrong in assuming that a body weighing a hundred pounds fell a hundred times as fast as a body weighing but one. To Galileo we owe, besides, many new ideas in the science of mechanics. He wrote in Italian as well as Latin, and this, too, gave offense to those who pinned their faith to Aristotle. They would

have forgiven Galileo if he had confined his discussions to the learned who could read Latin, but they thought it highly dangerous to have the new ideas set forth in such a way that the people at large might find out about them and so come to doubt what the theologians and universities were teaching. Galileo was finally summoned before the Inquisition and some of his theories condemned by the church authorities.

Descartes

Just as the Thirty Years' War was beginning, a young Frenchman by the name of Descartes had finished his education at a Jesuit college and decided to get some knowledge of the world by going into the war for a short time. He did much more thinking than fighting, however. Sitting by the stove during the winter lull in hostilities, deep in meditation, it occurred to him one day that he had no reason for believing anything. He saw that everything that he accepted had come to him on the authority of some one else, and he failed to see any reason why the old authorities should be right. So he boldly set to work to think out a wholly new philosophy that should be entirely the result of his own reasoning. He decided, in the first place, that one thing at least was true. He was *thinking*, and therefore he must exist. This he expressed in Latin in the famous phrase *Cogito, ergo sum*, "I think, therefore I am." He also decided that God must exist and that He had given men such good minds that, if they only used them *carefully*, they would not be deceived in the conclusions they reached. In short, Descartes held that *clear* thoughts must be *true* thoughts.

Work of Descartes

Descartes not only founded modern philosophy, he was also greatly interested in science and mathematics. He was impressed by the wonderful discovery of Harvey in regard to the circulation of the blood (see below, p. 367), which he thought well illustrated what scientific investigation might accomplish. His most famous book, called *An Essay on Method*, was written in French and addressed to intelligent men who did not know Latin. He says that those who use their own heads are much more likely to reach the truth than those who read old Latin books. Descartes

wrote clear textbooks on algebra and that branch of mathematics known as analytical geometry, of which he was the discoverer.

Francis Bacon, an English lawyer and government official, spent his spare hours explaining how men could increase their

FIG. 94. FRANCIS BACON

Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*

knowledge. He too wrote in his native tongue as well as in Latin. He was the most eloquent representative of the new science which renounced *authority* and relied upon *experiment*. "We are the ancients," he declared, not those who lived long ago when the world was young and men ignorant. Late in life he wrote a little book, which he never finished, called the

New Atlantis. It describes an imaginary state which some Europeans were supposed to have come upon in the Pacific Ocean. The chief institution was a "House of Solomon," a great laboratory for carrying on scientific investigation in the hope of discovering new facts and using them for bettering the condition of the inhabitants. This House of Solomon became a sort of model for the Royal Academy, which was established in London some fifty years after Bacon's death. It still exists and still publishes its proceedings regularly.

Scientific societies founded

The earliest societies for scientific research grew up in Italy. Later the English Royal Society and the French Institute were established, as well as similar associations in Germany. These were the first things of the kind in the history of the world. Their object was not, like that of the old Greek schools of philosophy and the medieval universities, merely to hand down the knowledge derived from the past, but to find out what had never been known before.

We have seen how in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries new inventions were made, such as the compass, paper, spectacles, gunpowder, and, in the fifteenth century, the printing press. But in the seventeenth century progress began to be much more rapid, and an era of invention opened, in the midst of which we still live. The microscope and telescope made it possible to discover innumerable scientific truths that were hidden to the Greeks and Romans. In time this scientific advance produced a *spirit of reform*, also new in the world (see below, Chapter XIX).

QUESTIONS

Section 64. What were the chief results of the Council of Trent? Why did the Protestants refuse to take part in it? Give an account of the life of Loyola. What were the objects of the Jesuit order? What accusations did the Protestants bring against the society?

Section 65. What are your impressions of Philip II? How did it come about that the Netherlands belonged to Spain? Describe

Philip's policy in dealing with the Netherlands. How did the United Netherlands gain their independence?

SECTION 66. What were the religious conditions in France when Charles IX and Catherine of Medici came into power? What was the character of the Huguenot party? Describe the massacre of St. Bartholomew. How did Henry IV become king? What was the Edict of Nantes?

SECTION 67. What measures did Queen Elizabeth take in religious matters? How did the English Church originate? Tell the story of Mary Queen of Scots. What was the policy of Philip II in regard to Elizabeth? What were the general results of Philip II's reign?

SECTION 68. What was the origin of the Thirty Years' War? What led the Swedish king to intervene? What did the Swedes gain by the intervention? Why did Richelieu send troops to fight in the war? What were the chief provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia? What were the other results of the war?

SECTION 69. What is the difference between modern scientific research and the spirit of the medieval universities? Describe the discoveries of Copernicus. What did Galileo accomplish? Give the views of Descartes. What was the position of Francis Bacon in regard to scientific research? What was the "House of Solomon"?

What societies were established for scientific investigation? Can you think of some of the effects that modern science has had on the lives of mankind?

CHAPTER XVII

STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT

James I and the Divine Right of Kings

70. On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James I, the first of the Scotch family of Stuart, ascended the throne. It will be remembered that he was the son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and through her a descendant of Henry VII (see table, p. 340). In Scotland he reigned as James VI; consequently the two kingdoms were now brought together under the same ruler. This did not, however, make the relations between the two countries much more cordial than they had been in the past.

Accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England, 1603

The chief interest of the period of the Stuarts, which began with the accession of James I in 1603 and ended with the flight from England of his grandson, James II, eighty-five years later, is the long and bitter struggle between the kings and Parliament. The vital question was, Should the Stuart kings, who claimed to be God's representatives on earth, do as they thought fit, or should Parliament control them and the government of the country?

Chief interest of the period of the Stuarts

We have seen how the English Parliament originated in the time of Edward I and how his successors were forced to pay attention to its wishes (see above, pp. 127 ff.). Under the Tudors—that is, from the time of Henry VII to Elizabeth—the monarchs had been able to manage Parliament so that it did, in general, just what they wished. Henry VIII was a heartless tyrant, and his daughter Elizabeth, like her father, had ruled the nation in a high-handed manner, but neither of them had been accustomed to say much of their rights.

The attitude of the Tudors toward Parliament

James I loved to discuss the king's claims

James I, on the other hand, had a very irritating way of discussing his claim to be the sole and supreme ruler of England. "It is atheism and blasphemy," he declared, "to dispute what God can do; . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." James was a learned man and fond of writing

FIG. 95. JAMES I

books. Among them he published a work on monarchs, in which he claimed that the king could make any law he pleased without consulting Parliament; that he was the master of every one of his subjects, high and low, and might put to death whom he pleased. A good king would act according to law, but is not bound to do so and has the power to change the law at any time to suit himself.

The "divine right of kings"

These theories seem strange and very unreasonable to us, but James was only trying to justify the powers which the Tudor monarchs had actually exercised and which the kings of France enjoyed down to the French Revolution of 1789. According to the theory of "the divine right of kings" it had pleased God to appoint the monarch the father of his people. People must obey him as they would God and ask no questions. The king was responsible to God alone, to whom he owed his powers, not to Parliament or the nation (see below, p. 388).

It is unnecessary to follow the troubles between James I and Parliament, for his reign only forms the preliminary to the fatal experiences of his son Charles I, who came to the throne in 1625.

Great writers of James's reign — Shakespeare

The writers of James's reign constituted its chief glory. They outshone those of any other European country. Shakespeare is generally admitted to be the greatest dramatist that the world has produced. While he wrote many of his plays before the death of Elizabeth, some of his finest — *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *The Tempest*, for example — belong to the time of James I. During the same period Francis Bacon (see above, p. 362) was writing his *Advancement of Learning*, which he dedicated to James I in 1605 and in which he urged that men should cease to rely upon the old textbooks, like Aristotle, and turn to a careful examination of animals, plants, and chemicals, with a view of learning about them and using the knowledge thus gained to improve the condition of mankind. Bacon's ability to write English is equal to that of Shakespeare, but he chose to write prose, not verse. It was in James's reign that the authorized English translation of the Bible was made which is still used in all countries where English is spoken.

Francis Bacon

King James version of the Bible

William Harvey

An English physician of this period, William Harvey, examined the workings of the human body more carefully than any previous investigator and made the great discovery of the manner in which the blood circulates from the heart through the arteries and capillaries and back through the veins — a matter which had previously been entirely misunderstood.

How Charles I got along without Parliament

Charles I, 1625–1649

71. Charles I, James I's son and successor, was somewhat more dignified than his father, but he was quite as obstinately set upon having his own way and showed no more skill in winning the confidence of his subjects. He did nothing to remove the disagreeable impressions of his father's reign and began immediately to quarrel with Parliament. When that body refused to grant him any money, mainly because they thought that it was likely to be wasted by his favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, Charles formed the plan of winning their favor by a great military victory.

He hoped to gain popularity by prosecuting a war against Spain, whose king was energetically supporting the Catholic League in the Thirty Years' War. Accordingly, in spite of Parliament's refusal to grant him the necessary funds, he embarked in war. With only the money which he could raise by irregular means, Charles arranged an expedition to capture the Spanish treasure ships which arrived in Cadiz once a year from America, laden with gold and silver; but this expedition failed.

Charles's exactions and arbitrary acts

In his attempts to raise money without a regular grant from Parliament, Charles resorted to vexatious exactions. The law prohibited him from asking for *gifts* from his people, but it did not forbid his asking them to *lend* him money, however little prospect there might be of his ever repaying it. Five gentlemen who refused to pay such a forced loan were imprisoned by the mere order of the king. This raised the question of whether the king had the right to send to prison those whom he wished without any legal reasons for their arrest.

The *Petition of Right*

This and other attacks upon the rights of his subjects aroused Parliament. In 1628 that body drew up the celebrated *Petition of Right*, which is one of the most important documents in the history of the English Constitution. In it Parliament called the king's attention to his unlawful exactions, and to the acts of

his agents who had in sundry ways molested and disquieted the people of the realm. Parliament therefore "humbly prayed" the king that no man need thereafter "make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge" without consent of Parliament; that no free man should be imprisoned or suffer any punishment except according to the laws and statutes of the realm as presented in the Great Charter; and that soldiers should not be quartered upon the people on any pretext whatever. Very reluctantly Charles consented to this restatement of the limitations which the English had always, in theory at least, placed upon the arbitrary power of their king.

FIG. 96. CHARLES I OF ENGLAND

This portrait is by one of the greatest painters of the time, Anthony Van Dyck, 1599–1641 (see Fig. 98)

The disagreement between Charles and Parliament was rendered much more serious by religious differences. The king had married a French Catholic princess, and the Catholic cause seemed to be gaining on the Continent. The king of Denmark had just been defeated by Wallenstein and Tilly (see above, p. 353), and Richelieu had succeeded in depriving the Huguenots of their cities of refuge. Both James I and Charles I had shown their readiness to enter into agreements with France and Spain to protect Catholics in England, and there was evidently a growing inclination in England to revert to the older ceremonies of the

Church, which shocked the more strongly Protestant members of the House of Commons. The communion table was again placed by many clergymen at the eastern end of the church and became fixed there as an altar, and portions of the service were once more chanted.

Charles dissolves Parliament (1629) and determines to rule by himself

These "popish practices," as the Protestants called them, with which Charles was supposed to sympathize, served to widen the breach between him and the Commons, which had been caused by the king's attempt to raise taxes on his own account. The Parliament of 1629, after a stormy session, was dissolved by the king, who determined to rule thereafter by himself. For eleven years no new Parliament was summoned.

Charles's financial exactions

Charles was not well fitted by nature to run the government of England by himself. He had not the necessary tireless energy. Moreover, the methods resorted to by his ministers to raise money without recourse to Parliament rendered the king more and more unpopular and prepared the way for the triumphant return of Parliament. For example, Charles applied to his subjects for "ship money." He was anxious to equip a fleet, but instead of requiring the various ports to furnish ships, as was the ancient custom, he permitted them to buy themselves off by contributing money to the fitting out of large ships owned by himself. Even those living inland were asked for ship money. The king maintained that this was not a tax but simply a payment by which his subjects freed themselves from the duty of defending their country.

John Hampden

John Hampden, a squire of Buckinghamshire, made a bold stand against this illegal demand by refusing to pay twenty shillings of ship money which was levied upon him. The case was tried before the king's judges, and he was convicted, but by a bare majority. The trial made it tolerably clear that the country would not put up long with the king's despotic policy.

In 1633 Charles made William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud believed that the English Church would strengthen

William Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury

both itself and the government by following a middle course, which should lie between that of the Church of Rome and that of Calvinistic Geneva. He declared that it was the part of good citizenship to conform outwardly to the services of the

Fig. 97. John Hampden

state church, but that the State should not undertake to oppress the individual conscience, and that every one should be at liberty to make up his own mind in regard to the interpretation to be given to the Bible and to the church fathers. As soon as he became archbishop he began a series of visitations through his province. Every clergyman who refused to conform to the

prayer book, or opposed the placing of the communion table at the east end of the church, or declined to bow at the name of Jesus, was, if obstinate, to be brought before the king's special Court of High Commission to be tried and, if convicted, to be deprived of his position.

The different sects of Protestants—High Church and Low Church

Laud's conduct was no doubt gratifying to the High Church party among the Protestants, that is, those who still clung to some of the ancient practices of the Roman Church, although they rejected the doctrine of the Mass and refused to regard the pope as their head. The Low Church party, or *Puritans*, on the contrary, regarded Laud and his policy with aversion. While, unlike the Presbyterians, they did not urge the abolition of the bishops, they disliked all "superstitious usages," as they called the wearing of the surplice by the clergy, the use of the sign of the cross at baptism, the kneeling posture in partaking of the communion, and so forth. The Presbyterians, who are often confused with the Puritans, agreed with them in many respects, but went farther and demanded the introduction of Calvin's system of church government.

The Independents

Lastly, there was an ever-increasing number of Separatists, or Independents. These rejected both the organization of the Church of England and that of the Presbyterians, and desired that each religious community should organize itself independently. The government had forbidden these Separatists to hold their little meetings, which they called *conventicles*, and about 1600 some of them fled to Holland. The community of them which established itself at Leyden dispatched the *Mayflower*, in 1620, with colonists — since known as the Pilgrim Fathers — to the New World across the sea.[1] It was these colonists who laid the foundations of a *New England* which has proved a worthy offspring of the mother country. The form of worship which they established in their new home is still known as Congregational.

The Pilgrim Fathers

[1] The name "Puritan," it should be noted, was applied loosely to the English Protestants, whether Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, or Independents, who aroused the antagonism of their neighbors by advocating a godly life and opposing popular pastimes, especially on Sunday.

How Charles I lost his Head

72. In 1640 Charles found himself forced to summon Parliament, for he was involved in a war with Scotland which he could not carry on without money. There the Presbyterian system had been pretty generally introduced by John Knox in Elizabeth's time (see above, p. 346). An attempt on the part of Charles to force the Scots to accept a modified form of the English prayer book led to the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. This pledged those who attached their names to it to reëstablish the purity and liberty of the Gospel, which, to most of the Covenanters, meant Presbyterianism.

Charles I's quarrel with the Scotch Presbyterians

The National Covenant, 1638

Charles thereupon undertook to coerce the Scots. Having no money, he bought on credit a large cargo of pepper, which had just arrived in the ships of the East India Company, and sold it cheap for ready cash. The soldiers, however, whom he got together showed little inclination to fight the Scots, with whom they were in tolerable agreement on religious matters. Charles was therefore at last obliged to summon a Parliament, which, owing to the length of time it remained in session, is known as the Long Parliament.

Charles summons the Long Parliament, 1640

The Long Parliament began by imprisoning Archbishop Laud in the Tower of London. They declared him guilty of treason, and he was executed in 1645, in spite of Charles's efforts to save him. Parliament also tried to strengthen its position by passing the Triennial Bill, which provided that it should meet at least once in three years, even if not summoned by the king. In fact, Charles's whole system of government was abrogated. Parliament drew up a "Grand Remonstrance" in which all of Charles's errors were enumerated and a demand was made that the king's ministers should thereafter be responsible to Parliament. This document Parliament ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the country.

The measures of the Long Parliament against the king's tyranny

Exasperated at the conduct of the Commons, Charles attempted to intimidate the opposition by undertaking to arrest

Charles's attempts to arrest five members of the House of Commons

five of its most active leaders, whom he declared to be traitors. But when he entered the House of Commons and looked around for his enemies, he found that they had taken shelter in London, whose citizens later brought them back in triumph to Westminster, where Parliament held its meetings.

FIG. 98. CHILDREN OF CHARLES I

This very interesting picture, by the Flemish artist Van Dyck, was painted in 1637. The boy with his hand on the dog's head was destined to become Charles II of England. Next on the left is the prince, who was later James II. The girl to the extreme left, the Princess Mary, married the governor of the United Netherlands, and her son became William III of England in 1688 (see below, p. 384). The two princesses on the right died in childhood

The beginning of civil war, 1642 — *Cavaliers* and *Roundheads*

Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops for the inevitable conflict, and England was plunged into civil war. Those who supported Charles were called *Cavaliers*. They included not only most of the aristocracy and the Catholic party, but also a number of members of the House of Commons who were fearful lest Presbyterianism should succeed in

doing away with the English Church. The parliamentary party was popularly known as the *Roundheads*, since some of them cropped their hair close because of their dislike for the long locks of their more aristocratic and worldly opponents.

Oliver Cromwell

The Roundheads soon found a distinguished leader in Oliver Cromwell (b. 1599), a country gentleman and member of Parliament, who was later to become the most powerful ruler of his time. Cromwell organized a compact army of God-fearing men, who were not permitted to indulge in profane words or light talk, as is the wont of soldiers, but advanced upon their enemies singing psalms. The king enjoyed the support of northern England, and also looked for help from Ireland, where the royal and Catholic causes were popular.

Battles of Marston Moor and Naseby

The war continued for several years, and a number of battles were fought which, after the first year, went in general against the Cavaliers. The most important of these were the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and that of Naseby the next year, in which the king was disastrously defeated. The enemy came into possession of his correspondence, which showed them how their king had been endeavoring to bring armies from France and Ireland into England. This encouraged Parliament to prosecute the war with more energy than ever. The king, defeated on every hand, put himself in the hands of the Scotch army which had come to the aid of Parliament (1646), and the Scotch soon turned him over to Parliament. During the next two years Charles was held in captivity.

The losing cause of the king

Pride's Purge

There were, however, many in the House of Commons who still sided with the king, and in December, 1648, that body declared for a reconciliation with the monarch, whom they had safely imprisoned in the Isle of Wight. The next day Colonel Pride, representing the army, — which constituted a party in itself and was opposed to all negotiations between the king and the Commons, — stood at the door of the House with a body of soldiers and excluded all the members who took the side of the king. This outrageous act is known in history as "Pride's Purge."

Execution of Charles, 1649

In this way the House of Commons was brought completely under the control of those most bitterly hostile to the king, whom they immediately proposed to bring to trial. They declared that the House of Commons, since it was chosen by the people, was supreme in England and the source of all just power, and that consequently neither king nor House of Lords was necessary. The mutilated House of Commons appointed a special High Court of Justice made up of Charles's sternest opponents, who alone would consent to sit in judgment on him. They passed sentence upon him, and on January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded in front of his palace of Whitehall, London. It must be clear from the above account that it was not the nation at large which demanded Charles's death, but a very small group of extremists who claimed to be the representatives of the nation.

Oliver Cromwell: England a Commonwealth

Englnad becomes a commonwealth, or republic. Cromwell at the head of the government

73. The "Rump Parliament," as the remnant of the House of Commons was contemptuously called, proclaimed England to be thereafter a "commonwealth," that is, a republic, without a king or House of Lords. But Cromwell, the head of the army, was nevertheless the real ruler of England. He derived his main support from the Independents; and it is very surprising that he was able to maintain himself so long, considering what a small portion of the English people was in sympathy with the religious ideas of that sect and with the abolition of kingship. Even the Presbyterians were on the side of Charles I's son, Charles II, the legal heir to the throne. Cromwell was a vigorous and skillful administrator and had a well-organized army of fifty thousand men at his command, otherwise the republic could scarcely have lasted more than a few months.

Ireland and Scotland subdued

Cromwell found himself confronted by every variety of difficulty. The three kingdoms had fallen apart. The nobles and Catholics in Ireland proclaimed Charles II as king, and Ormond,

a Protestant leader, formed an army of Irish Catholics and English royalist Protestants with a view of overthrowing the Commonwealth. Cromwell accordingly set out for Ireland, where, after taking Drogheda, he mercilessly slaughtered two thousand of the "barbarous wretches," as he called them. Town after

FIG. 99. OLIVER CROMWELL

This portrait is by Peter Lely and was painted in 1653

town surrendered to Cromwell's army, and in 1652, after much cruelty, the island was once more conquered. A large part of it was confiscated for the benefit of the English, and the Catholic landowners were driven into the mountains. In the meantime (1650) Charles II, who had taken refuge in France, had landed in Scotland, and upon his agreeing to be a Presbyterian king, the whole Scotch nation was ready to support him. But Scotland was subdued by Cromwell even more promptly than Ireland had been.

So completely was the Scottish army destroyed that Cromwell found no need to draw the sword again in the British Isles.

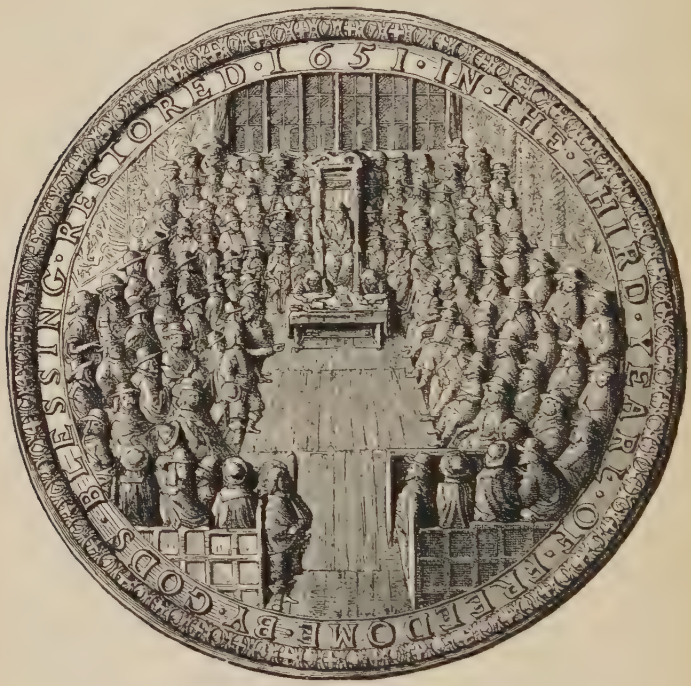


FIG. 100. GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH, 1651

This seal is reduced considerably in the reproduction. It gives us an idea of the appearance of a session of the House of Commons when England was for a short period a republic. It is still to-day the custom for members to sit with their hats on, except when making a speech

The Navigation Act, 1651

Although it would seem that Cromwell had enough to keep him busy at home, he had already engaged in a victorious foreign war against the Dutch, who had become dangerous commercial rivals of England. The ships which went out from

Amsterdam and Rotterdam were the best merchant vessels in the world and had got control of the carrying trade between Europe and the colonies. In order to put an end to this, the English Parliament passed the Navigation Act (1651), which permitted only English vessels to bring goods to England, unless the goods came in vessels belonging to the country which had produced them. This led to a commercial war between Holland and England, and a series of battles was fought between the English and Dutch fleets, in which sometimes one and sometimes the other gained the upper hand. This war is notable as the first example of the commercial struggles which were thereafter to take the place of the religious conflicts of the preceding period.

Commercial war between Holland and England

Cromwell failed to get along with Parliament any better than Charles I had done. The Rump Parliament had become very unpopular, for its members, in spite of their boasted piety, accepted bribes and were zealous in the promotion of their relatives in the public service. At last Cromwell upbraided them angrily for their injustice and self-interest, which were injuring the public cause. On being interrupted by a member, he cried out, "Come, come, we have had enough of this! I 'll put an end to this. It 's not fit that you should sit here any longer," and calling in his soldiers he turned the members out of the House and sent them home. Having thus made an end of the Long Parliament (April, 1653), he summoned a Parliament of his own, made up of "God-fearing" men whom he and the officers of his army chose. This extraordinary body is known as Barebone's Parliament, from a distinguished member, a London merchant, with the characteristically Puritan name of Praisegod Barebone. Many of these godly men were unpractical and hard to deal with. A minority of the more sensible ones got up early one winter morning (December, 1653) and, before their opponents had a chance to protest, declared Parliament dissolved and placed the supreme authority in the hands of Cromwell.

Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament (1653) and is made Lord Protector by his own Parliament

The Protector's foreign policy

For nearly five years Cromwell was, as Lord Protector, — a title equivalent to that of Regent, — practically king of England, although he refused actually to accept the royal insignia. He did not succeed in permanently organizing the government at

FIG. 101. DUTCH WAR VESSEL IN CROMWELL'S TIME

This should be compared with Fig. 233 to realize the change that had taken place in navigation since the palmy days of the Hanseatic League. (See above, p. 214)

home but showed remarkable ability in his foreign negotiations. He formed an alliance with France, and English troops aided the French in winning a great victory over Spain. England gained thereby Dunkirk, and the West Indian island of Jamaica.

The French king, Louis XIV, at first hesitated to address Cromwell, in the usual courteous way of monarchs, as "my cousin," but soon admitted that he would have even to call Cromwell "father" should he wish it, as the Protector was undoubtedly the most powerful person in Europe. Indeed, he found himself forced to play the part of a monarch, and it seemed to many persons that he was quite as despotic as James I and Charles I.

In May, 1658, Cromwell fell ill, and as a great storm passed over England at that time, the Cavaliers asserted that the devil had come to fetch home the soul of the usurper. Cromwell was dying, it is true, but he was no instrument of the devil. He closed a life of honest effort for his fellow beings with a last touching prayer to God, whom he had consistently sought to serve: "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good and Thee service: and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen."

FIG. 102. A SHIP OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

This is taken from a picture at Cologne, painted in 1409. It, as well as other pictures of the time, makes it clear that the Hanseatic ships were tiny compared with those used two hundred and fifty years later, when Cromwell fought the Dutch

The Restoration

The Restoration

74. After Cromwell's death his son Richard, who succeeded him, found himself unable to carry on the government. He soon abdicated, and the remnants of the Long Parliament met once more. But the power was really in the hands of the soldiers. In 1660 George Monk, who was in command of the forces in Scotland, came to London with a view of putting an end to the anarchy. He soon concluded that no one cared to support the Rump, and that body peacefully disbanded of its own accord. Resistance would have been vain in any case with the army against it. The nation was glad to acknowledge Charles II, whom every one preferred to a government by soldiers. A new Parliament, composed of both houses, was assembled, which welcomed a messenger from the king and solemnly resolved that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons." Thus the Puritan revolution and the short-lived republic was followed by the *Restoration* of the Stuarts.

Charles II welcomed back as king, 1660

Character of Charles II

Charles II was quite as fond as his father of having his own way, but he was a man of more ability. He disliked to be ruled by Parliament, but, unlike his father, he was too wise to arouse the nation against him. He did not propose to let anything happen which would send him on his travels again. He and his courtiers were fond of pleasure of a light-minded kind. The immoral dramas of the Restoration seem to indicate that those who had been forced by the Puritans to give up their legitimate pleasures now welcomed the opportunity to indulge in reckless gayety without regard to the bounds imposed by custom and decency.

Religious measures adopted by Parliament

Charles's first Parliament was a moderate body, but his second was made up almost wholly of Cavaliers, and it got along, on the whole, so well with the king that he did not dissolve it for eighteen years. It did not take up the old question, which was still unsettled, as to whether Parliament or the king was really

supreme. It showed its hostility, however, to the Puritans by a series of intolerant acts, which are very important in English history. It ordered that no one should hold a town office who had not received the communion according to the rites of the Church of England. This was aimed at both the Presbyterians and the Independents. By the Act of Uniformity (1662) every clergyman who refused to accept everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer was to be excluded from holding his benefice. Two thousand clergymen thereupon resigned their positions for conscience' sake.

The Act of Uniformity

These laws tended to throw all those Protestants who refused to conform to the Church of England into a single class, still known to-day as *Dissenters*. It included the Independents, the Presbyterians, and the newer bodies of the Baptists and the Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers. These sects abandoned any idea of controlling the religion or politics of the country, and asked only that they might be permitted to worship in their own way outside of the English Church.

The *Dissenters*

Toleration found an unexpected ally in the king, who, in spite of his dissolute habits, had interest enough in religion to have secret leanings toward Catholicism. He asked Parliament to permit him to moderate the rigor of the Act of Uniformity by making some exceptions. He even issued a declaration in the interest of toleration, with a view of bettering the position of the Catholics and Dissenters. Suspicion was, however, aroused lest this toleration might lead to the restoration of "popery," — as the Protestants called the Catholic beliefs, — and Parliament passed the harsh Conventicle Act (1664).

Toleration favored by the king

The Conventicle Act

Any adult attending a conventicle — that is to say, any religious meeting not held in accordance with the practice of the English Church — was liable to penalties which might culminate in transportation to some distant colony. Samuel Pepys, who saw some of the victims of this law upon their way to a terrible exile, notes in his famous diary: "They go like lambs without any resistance. I would to God that they would conform, or be

more wise and not be catched." A few years later Charles II issued a declaration giving complete religious liberty to Roman Catholics as well as to Dissenters. Parliament not only forced him to withdraw this enlightened measure but passed the Test Act, which excluded every one from public office who did not accept the views of the English Church.

The Test Act

War with Holland

The old war with Holland, begun by Cromwell, was renewed under Charles II, who was earnestly desirous to increase English commerce and to found new colonies. The two nations were very evenly matched on the sea, but in 1664 the English seized some of the West Indian Islands from the Dutch and also their colony on Manhattan Island, which was re-named New York in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. In 1667 a treaty was signed by England and Holland which confirmed these conquests.

The Revolution of 1688

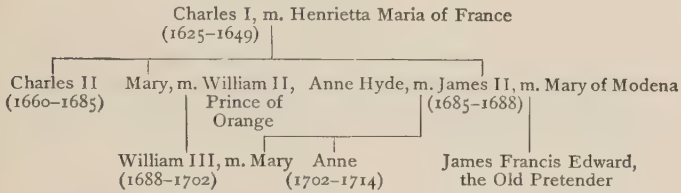
James II, 1685–1688

75. Upon Charles II's death he was succeeded by his brother, James II, who was an avowed Catholic and had married, as his second wife, Mary of Modena, who was also a Catholic. He was ready to reëstablish Catholicism in England regardless of what it might cost him. Mary, James's daughter by his first wife, had married her cousin, William III, Prince of Orange, the head of the United Netherlands. The nation might have tolerated James so long as they could look forward to the accession of his Protestant daughter. But when a son was born to his Catholic second wife, and James showed unmistakably his purpose of favoring the Catholics, messengers were dispatched by a group of Protestants to William of Orange, asking him to come and rule over them.

The revolution of 1688 and the accession of William III, 1688–1702

William landed in November, 1688, and marched upon London, where he received general support from all the English Protestants, regardless of party. James II started to oppose William, but his army refused to fight and his courtiers deserted

him. William was glad to forward James's flight to France, as he would hardly have known what to do with him had James insisted on remaining in the country. A new Parliament declared the throne vacant, on the ground that King James II, "by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government."



A Bill of Rights was then drawn up, condemning James's violation of the constitution and appointing William and Mary joint sovereigns. The Bill of Rights, which is an important monument in English constitutional history, once more stated the fundamental rights of the English nation and the limitations which the Petition of Right and Magna Charta had placed upon the king. By this peaceful revolution of 1688 the English rid themselves of the Stuarts and their claims to rule by divine right, and once more declared themselves against the rule of the pope. The Bill of Rights

A bill of toleration was passed by Parliament which freed Dissenters from all penalties for failing to attend services in Anglican churches and allowed them to have their own meetings. Even Catholics, while not included in the act of toleration, were permitted to hold services undisturbed by the government.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 70. What was the great issue during the period of the Stuarts? What were the views of kingship held by James I? Mention some of the books of his time.

SECTION 71. What policy did Charles I adopt in regard to Parliament? What was the Petition of Right? What were the chief

religious parties in England in the time of Charles I? Who was John Hampden? Mention some of the religious sects that date from that time which still exist in the United States.

SECTION 72. What measures did the Long Parliament take against the king? Describe the civil war. What led to the execution of Charles I?

SECTION 73. What were the chief events during Cromwell's administration? What are your impressions of Cromwell?

SECTION 74. What led to the restoration of the Stuarts? What was the attitude of Charles II toward the religious difficulties? Who were the Dissenters?

SECTION 75. Why was James II unpopular? Give an account of the revolution which put William and Mary on the English throne.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Position and Character of Louis XIV

76. Under the despotic rule of Louis XIV (1643–1715) France enjoyed a commanding influence in European affairs. After the wars of religion were over, the royal authority had been reëstablished by the wise conduct of Henry IV. Later, Richelieu had solidified the monarchy by depriving the Huguenots of the exceptional privileges granted to them for their protection by Henry IV; he had also destroyed the fortified castles of the nobles, whose power had greatly increased during the turmoil of the Huguenot wars. His successor, Cardinal Mazarin, who conducted the government during Louis XIV's boyhood, was able to put down a last rising of the discontented nobility.

France at the accession of Louis XIV, 1643–1715

When Mazarin died, in 1661, he left the young monarch with a kingdom such as no previous French king had enjoyed. The nobles, who for centuries had disputed the power with the king, were no longer feudal lords but only courtiers. The Huguenots, whose claim to a place in the State beside the Catholics had led to the terrible civil wars of the sixteenth century, were reduced in numbers and no longer held fortified towns from which they could defy the king's officers. Richelieu and Mazarin had successfully taken a hand in the Thirty Years' War, and France had come out of it with enlarged territory and increased importance in European affairs.

What Richelieu and Mazarin had done for the French monarchy

Louis XIV carried the work of these great ministers still farther. He gave that form to the French monarchy which it retained until the French Revolution. He made himself the very mirror of kingship. His marvelous court at Versailles became

The government of Louis XIV

the model and the despair of other less opulent and powerful princes, who accepted his theory of the absolute power of kings but could not afford to imitate his luxury. By his incessant wars he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals who led his newly organized troops, and the wily diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his

FIG. 103. LOUIS XIV

treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most powerful of the other European states.

The theory of the "divine right of kings" in France

Louis XIV had the same idea of kingship that James I had tried in vain to induce the English people to accept. God had given kings to men, and it was His will that monarchs should be regarded as His lieutenants and that all those subject to them should obey them absolutely, without asking any questions or making any criticisms; for in submitting to their prince they were really submitting to God Himself. If the king were good

EUROPE
WHEN LOUIS XIV BEGAN HIS PERSONAL GOVERNMENT
1661
Spanish Possessions
Austrian Possessions
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
Scotland
Edinburgh
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Belfast
Dublin
Ireland
England
London
North Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Dunkirk
Brussels
Paris
Versailles
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Avignon (Papal)
C. of Boussillon
PYRENEES
Navarre
Old Castile
Aragon
Saragossa
Barcelona
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Madrid
Lisbon
R. Tagus
New Castile
SPAIN
Valencia
Balearic Isles (To Spain)
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Ceuta (Spanish)
MEDIT
AFRI
10 Longitude West
0
Longitude East 5 from

10
15
20
25
30
55
50
45
40
35
KINGDOM OF
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Prussia
Stralsund
Swedish Pomerania
Stettin
Brandenburg
Berlin
R. Vistula
P O L A N D
Magdeburg
Silesia
Breslau
Saxon
Dresden
ROMAN
Prague
Krakow
Bohemia
MPIRE
Moravia
Hungary
Ratisbon
Vienna
Bavaria
Austria
Buda
Pest
Munich
Hungary
Transylvania
Temesvar
Tyrol
Trieste
Venice
Mantua
Milan
R. Danube
Parma
Po
TURKISH
DOMINIONS
States of the
Church
Lucca
Florence
Grand Duchy
of Tuscany
Ragusa
Cattaro
Rome
Naples
(To Spain)
Naples
Messina
Palermo
Sicily
(To Spain)
Moren
Candia
R A N E A N S E A

and wise, his subjects should thank the Lord; if he proved foolish, cruel, or perverse, they must accept their evil ruler as a punishment which God had sent them for their sins. But in no case might they limit his power or rise against him.[1]

Different attitude of the English and French nations toward absolute monarchy

Louis XIV had two great advantages over James I. In the first place, the English nation has always shown itself far more reluctant than France to place absolute power in the hands of its rulers. By its Parliament, its courts, and its various declarations of the nation's rights, it had built up traditions which made it impossible for the Stuarts to establish their claim to be absolute rulers. In France, on the other hand, there was no Great Charter or Bill of Rights; the Estates General did not hold the purse strings, and the king was permitted to raise money without asking their permission or previously redressing the grievances which they chose to point out. They were therefore only summoned at irregular intervals. When Louis XIV took charge of the government, forty-seven years had passed without a meeting of the Estates General, and a century and a quarter was still to elapse before another call to the representatives of the nation was issued in 1789.

Moreover, the French people placed far more reliance upon a powerful king than the English, perhaps because they were not protected by the sea from their neighbors, as England was. On every side France had enemies ready to take advantage of any weakness or hesitation which might arise from dissension between a parliament and the king. So the French felt it best, on the whole, to leave all in the king's hands, even if they suffered at times from his tyranny.

Personal characteristics of Louis XIV

Louis had another great advantage over James. He was a handsome man, of elegant and courtly mien and the most exquisite perfection of manner; even when playing billiards he is said to have retained an air of world mastery. The first of

[1] Louis XIV does not appear to have himself used the famous expression "*I* am the *State*," usually attributed to him, but it exactly corresponds to his idea of the relation of the king and the State.

the Stuarts, on the contrary, was a very awkward man, whose slouching gait, intolerable manners, and pedantic conversation were utterly at variance with his lofty pretensions. Louis added, moreover, to his graceful exterior a sound judgment and quick apprehension. He said neither too much nor too little. He was, for a king, a hard worker and spent several hours a day attending to the business of government.

The strenuous life of a despotic ruler

It requires, in fact, a great deal of energy and application to be a real despot. In order thoroughly to understand and to solve

FIG. 104. FAÇADE OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

the problems which constantly face the ruler of a great state, a monarch must, like Frederick the Great or Napoleon, rise early and toil late. Louis XIV was greatly aided by the able ministers who sat in his council, but he always retained for himself the place of first minister. He would never have consented to be dominated by an adviser, as his father had been by Richelieu. "The profession of the king," he declared, "is great, noble, and delightful if one but feels equal to performing the duties which it involves," — and he never harbored a doubt that he himself was born for the business.

How Louis encouraged Art and Literature

77. Louis XIV was careful that his surroundings should suit the grandeur of his office. His court was magnificent beyond anything that had been dreamed of in the West. He had an enormous palace constructed at Versailles, just outside of Paris, with interminable halls and apartments and a vast garden

The king's palace at Versailles

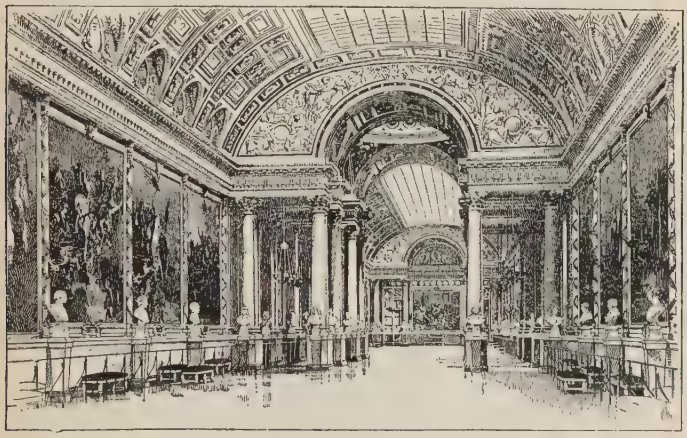


Fig. 105. One of the Vast Halls of Versailles

stretching away behind it. About this a town was laid out, where those who were privileged to be near his majesty or supply the wants of the royal court lived. This palace and its outlying buildings, including two or three less gorgeous residences for the king when he occasionally tired of the ceremony of Versailles, probably cost the nation about a hundred million dollars, in spite of the fact that thousands of peasants and soldiers were forced to turn to and work without pay. The furnishings and decorations were as rich and costly as the palace was splendid and still fill the visitor with wonder. For

over a century Versailles continued to be the home of the French kings and the seat of their government.

Life at Louis XIV's court

This splendor and luxury helped to attract the nobility, who no longer lived on their estates in well-fortified castles, planning how they might escape the royal control. They now dwelt in the effulgence of the king's countenance. They saw him to bed at night and in stately procession they greeted him in the morning. It was deemed a high honor to hand him his shirt as

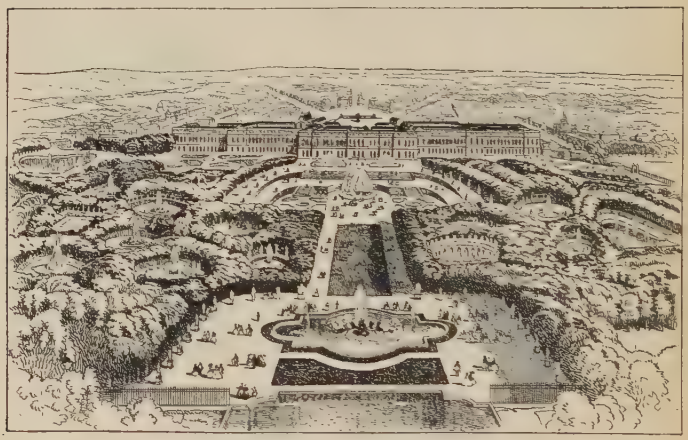


FIG. 106. FAÇADE OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES TOWARD THE GARDENS

he was being dressed or, at dinner, to provide him with a fresh napkin. Only by living close to the king could the courtiers hope to gain favors, pensions, and lucrative offices for themselves and their friends, and perhaps occasionally to exercise some little influence upon the policy of the government. For they were now entirely dependent upon the good will of their monarch.

The reforms of Colbert

The reforms which Louis XIV carried out in the earlier part of his reign were largely the work of the great financier Colbert, to whom France still looks back with gratitude. He early

discovered that the king's officials were stealing and wasting vast sums. The offenders were arrested and forced to disgorge, and a new system of bookkeeping was introduced, similar to that employed by business men. He then turned his attention to increasing the manufactures of France by establishing new industries and seeing that the older ones kept to a high standard, which would make French goods sell readily in foreign markets. He argued justly that if foreigners could be induced to buy French goods, these sales would bring gold and silver into the country and so enrich it. He made rigid rules as to the width and quality of cloths which the manufacturers might produce and the dyes which they might use. He even reorganized the old medieval guilds; for through them the government could keep its eye on all the manufacturing that was done; this would have been far more difficult if every one had been free to carry on any trade which he might choose.

Art and literature in the reign of Louis XIV

It was, however, as a patron of art and literature that Louis XIV gained much of his celebrity. Molière, who was at once a playwright and an actor, delighted the court with comedies in which he delicately satirized the foibles of his time. Corneille, who had gained renown by the great tragedy of *The Cid* in Richelieu's time, found a worthy successor in Racine, the most distinguished, perhaps, of French tragic poets. The charming letters of Madame de Sévigné are models of prose style and serve at the same time to give us a glimpse into the more refined life of the court circle. In the famous memoirs of Saint-Simon, the weaknesses of the king, as well as the numberless intrigues of the courtiers, are freely exposed with inimitable skill and wit.

The government fosters the development of the French language and literature

Men of letters were generously aided by the king with pensions. Colbert encouraged the French Academy, which had been created by Richelieu. This body gave special attention to making the French tongue more eloquent and expressive by determining what words should be used. It is now the greatest honor that a Frenchman can obtain to be made one of the forty members of this association. A magazine which still exists,

the *Journal des Savants*, was founded for the promotion of science at this time. Colbert had an astronomical observatory built at Paris; and the Royal Library, which only possessed about sixteen thousand volumes, began to grow into that great collection of two and a half million volumes — by far the largest in existence — which to-day attracts scholars to Paris from all parts of the world. In short, Louis XIV and his ministers believed one of the chief objects of any government to be the promotion of art, literature, and science, and the example they set has been followed by almost every modern state.

Louis XIV attacks his Neighbors

Louis XIV's warlike enterprises

78. Unfortunately for France, the king's ambitions were by no means exclusively peaceful. Indeed, he regarded his wars as his chief glory. He employed a carefully reorganized army and the skill of his generals in a series of inexcusable attacks on his neighbors, in which he finally squandered all that Colbert's economies had accumulated and led France to the edge of financial ruin.

He aims to restore the "natural boundaries" of France

Louis XIV's predecessors had had, on the whole, little time to think of conquest. They had first to consolidate their realms and gain the mastery of their feudal dependents, who shared the power with them; then the claims of the English Edwards and Henrys had to be met, and the French provinces freed from their clutches; lastly, the great religious dispute was only settled after many years of disintegrating civil war. But Louis XIV was now at liberty to look about him and consider how he might best realize the dream of his ancestors and perhaps reëstablish the ancient boundaries which Cæsar reported that the Gauls had occupied. The "natural limits" of France appeared to be the Rhine on the north and east, the Jura Mountains and the Alps on the southeast, and to the south the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees. Richelieu had believed that it was the chief end of his ministry to restore to France the boundaries determined for it by nature. Mazarin had labored hard to win Savoy

and Nice and to reach the Rhine on the north. Before his death France at least gained Alsace and reached the Pyrenees, "which," as the treaty with Spain says (1659), "formerly divided the Gauls from Spain."

Louis XIV lays claim to the Spanish Netherlands

Louis XIV first turned his attention to the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, to which he laid claim through his wife, the elder sister of the Spanish king, Charles II (1665–1700). In 1667 he surprised Europe by publishing a little treatise in which he set forth his claims not only to the Spanish Netherlands, but even to the whole Spanish monarchy. By confounding the kingdom of France with the old empire of the Franks he could maintain that the people of the Netherlands were his subjects.

The invasion of the Netherlands, 1667

Louis placed himself at the head of the army which he had re-formed and reorganized, and announced that he was to undertake a "journey," as if his invasion was only an expedition into another part of his undisputed realms. He easily took a number of towns on the border of the Netherlands and then turned south and completely conquered Franche-Comté. This was an outlying province of Spain, isolated from her other lands, and a most tempting morsel for the hungry king of France.[1]

These conquests alarmed Europe, and especially Holland, which could not afford to have the barrier between it and France removed, for Louis XIV would be an uncomfortable neighbor. A Triple Alliance, composed of Holland, England, and Sweden, was accordingly organized to induce France to make peace with Spain. Louis contented himself for the moment with the dozen border towns that he had taken and which Spain ceded to him on condition that he would return Franche-Comté.

Louis XIV breaks up the Triple Alliance and allies himself with Charles II of England

The success with which Holland had held her own against the navy of England and brought the proud king of France to a halt produced an elation on the part of that tiny country which was very aggravating to Louis XIV. He was thoroughly vexed that he should have been blocked by so trifling an obstacle as Dutch intervention. He consequently conceived a

[1] See above, pp. 279 and 355.

strong dislike for the United Provinces, which was increased by the protection that they afforded to writers who annoyed him with their attacks. He broke up the Triple Alliance by inducing Charles II of England to conclude a treaty which pledged England to help France in a new war against the Dutch.

Louis XIV's invasion of Holland, 1672

Louis XIV then startled Europe again by seizing the duchy of Lorraine, which brought him to the border of Holland. At the head of a hundred thousand men he crossed the Rhine (1672) and easily conquered southern Holland. For the moment the Dutch cause appeared to be lost. But William of Orange showed the spirit of his great ancestor William the Silent; the sluices in the dikes were opened and the country flooded, so the French army was checked before it could take Amsterdam and advance into the north. The emperor sent an army against Louis, and England deserted him and made peace with Holland.

Peace of Nimwegen, 1678

When a general peace was concluded at the end of six years, the chief provisions were that Holland should be left intact, and that France should this time retain Franche-Comté, which had been conquered by Louis XIV in person. This bit of the Burgundian heritage thus became at last a part of France, after France and Spain had quarreled over it for a century and a half. For the ten years following there was no open war, but Louis seized the important free city of Strassburg and made many other less conspicuous but equally unwarranted additions to his territory. The emperor was unable to do more than protest against these outrageous encroachments, for he was fully occupied with the Turks, who had just laid siege to Vienna.

Louis XIV seizes Strassburg

Louis XIV and his Protestant Subjects

Situation of the Huguenots at the beginning of Louis XIV's reign

79. Louis XIV exhibited as woeful a want of statesmanship in the treatment of his Protestant subjects as in the prosecution of disastrous wars. The Huguenots, deprived of their former military and political power, had turned to manufacture, trade,

and banking; "as rich as a Huguenot" had become a proverb in France. There were perhaps a million of them among fifteen million Frenchmen, and they undoubtedly formed by far the most thrifty and enterprising part of the nation. The Catholic clergy, however, did not cease to urge the complete suppression of heresy.

Louis's policy of suppression

Louis XIV had scarcely taken the reins of government into his own hands before the perpetual nagging and injustice to which the Protestants had been subjected at all times took a more serious form. Upon one pretense or another their churches were demolished. Children were authorized to renounce Protestantism when they reached the age of seven. Rough dragoons were quartered upon the Huguenots with the hope that the insulting behavior of the soldiers might frighten the heretics into accepting the religion of the king.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its results

At last Louis XIV was led by his officials to believe that practically all the Huguenots had been converted by these harsh measures. In 1685, therefore, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and the Protestants thereby became outlaws and their ministers subject to the death penalty. Even liberal-minded Catholics, like the kindly writer of fables, La Fontaine, and the charming letter writer, Madame de Sévigné, hailed this reëstablishment of "religious unity" with delight. They believed that only an insignificant and seditious remnant still clung to the beliefs of Calvin. But there could have been no more serious mistake. Thousands of the Huguenots succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the royal officials and fled, some to England, some to Prussia, some to America, carrying with them their skill and industry to strengthen France's rivals. This was the last great and terrible example in western Europe of that fierce religious intolerance which had produced the Albigensian Crusade, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Louis's operations in the Rhenish Palatinate

Louis XIV now set his heart upon conquering the Palatinate, a Protestant land, to which he easily discovered that he had a claim. The rumor of his intention and the indignation occasioned

in Protestant countries by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes resulted in an alliance against the French king headed by William of Orange. Louis speedily justified the suspicions of Europe by a frightful devastation of the Palatinate, burning whole towns and destroying many castles, including the exceptionally beautiful one of the elector at Heidelberg. Ten years later, however, Louis agreed to a peace which put things back as they were before the struggle began. He was preparing for the final and most ambitious undertaking of his life, which precipitated the longest and bloodiest war of all his warlike reign.

War of the Spanish Succession

The question of the Spanish succession

80. The king of Spain, Charles II, was childless and brotherless, and Europe had long been discussing what would become of his vast realms when his sickly existence should come to an end. Louis XIV had married one of his sisters, and the emperor, Leopold I, another, and these two ambitious rulers had been considering for some time how they might divide the Spanish possessions between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs. But when Charles II died, in 1700, it was discovered that he had left a will in which he made Louis's younger grandson, Philip, the heir to his twenty-two crowns, but on the condition that France and Spain should never be united.

Louis's grandson, Philip, becomes king of Spain

It was a weighty question whether Louis XIV should permit his grandson to accept this hazardous honor. Should Philip become king of Spain, Louis and his family would control all of southwestern Europe from Holland to Sicily, as well as a great part of North and South America. This would mean the establishment of an empire more powerful than that of Charles V. It was clear that the disinherited emperor and the ever watchful William of Orange, now king of England (see above, p. 384), would never permit this unprecedented extension of French influence. They had already shown themselves ready to make great sacrifices in order to check far less serious aggressions on

the part of the French king. Nevertheless, family pride and personal ambition led Louis criminally to risk the welfare of his country. He accepted the will and informed the Spanish ambassador at the French court that he might salute Philip V as his new king. The leading French newspaper of the time boldly proclaimed that the Pyrenees were no more.

The War of the Spanish Succession

King William soon succeeded in forming a new Grand Alliance (1701) in which Louis's old enemies, England, Holland, and the emperor, were the most important members. William himself died just as hostilities were beginning, but the long War of the Spanish Succession was carried on vigorously by the great English general, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Austrian commander, Eugene of Savoy. The conflict was more general than the Thirty Years' War; even in America there was fighting between French and English colonists, which passes in American histories under the name of Queen Anne's War. All the more important battles went against the French, and after ten years of war, which was rapidly ruining the country by the destruction of its people and its wealth, Louis XIV was willing to consider some compromise, and after long discussion a peace was arranged in 1713.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713

The Treaty of Utrecht changed the map of Europe as no previous treaty had done, not even that of Westphalia. Each of the chief combatants got his share of the Spanish booty over which they had been fighting. The Bourbon Philip V was permitted to retain Spain and its colonies on condition that the Spanish and French crowns should never rest on the same head. To Austria fell the Spanish Netherlands, hereafter called the Austrian Netherlands, which continued to form a barrier between Holland and France. Holland received certain fortresses to make its position still more secure. The Spanish possessions in Italy, that is, Naples and Milan, were also given to Austria, and in this way Austria got the hold on Italy which it retained until 1866. From France, England acquired Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, and so

began the expulsion of the French from North America. Besides these American provinces she received the rock and fortress of Gibraltar, which still gives her command of the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean.

The development of international law

The period of Louis XIV is remarkable for the development of international law. The incessant wars and great alliances embracing several powers made increasingly clear the need of well-defined rules governing states in their relations with one another both in peace and in war. It was of the utmost importance to determine, for instance, the rights of ambassadors and of the vessels of neutral powers not engaged in the war, and what should be considered fair conduct in warfare and in the treatment of prisoners.

Grotius's *War and Peace*

The first great systematic treatise on international law was published by Grotius in 1625, when the horrors of the Thirty Years' War were impressing men's minds with the necessity of finding some means other than war of settling disputes between nations. While the rules laid down by Grotius and later writers have, as we must sadly admit, by no means put an end to war, they have prevented many conflicts by increasing the ways in which nations may come to an understanding with one another through their ambassadors without recourse to arms.

Louis XIV outlived his son and his grandson and left a sadly demoralized kingdom to his five-year-old great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1774). The national treasury was depleted, the people were reduced in numbers and were in a miserable state, and the army, once the finest in Europe, was in no condition to gain further victories.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 76. What did Richelieu accomplish in strengthening the French monarchy? What were Louis XIV's ideas of kingship? Why did the French view the "divine right of kings" differently from the English? Contrast Louis XIV with James I.

EUROPE
after the Treaties of
UTRECHT AND RASTADT
1713-1714
Boundary of the Empire
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Scotland
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
Ireland
Wales
England
London
North Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Brussels
Oudenarde
Fontenoy
Paris
Versailles
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Avignon
Barcelona
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
R. Tagus
Balearic Isles
Minorca (To England)
Majorca
Iviza
MEDIT
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To England)
AFRI
M. N. ENG., BUFFALO.
10 Longitude West
0
Longitude East 5 from
15
10
5
0
5
65
60
55
50
45
40
35

KINGDOM OF
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Prussia
Stralsund
Swedish Pomerania
Prussia
R. Vistula
POLAND
Berlin
Hanover
Saxony
Silesia
Bohemia
Prague
EMPIRE
Moravia
Electorate of
Arch Duchy of
Vienna
Austria
Bavaria
Munich
Buda
Pest
Kingdom of Hungary
Transylvania
Tyrol
Temesvar
R. Danube
Republic of Venice
Venice
OTTOMAN
DOMINIONS
Ragusa
Cattaro
States of the Church
Lucca
Florence
Gr. Dy. of Tuscany
Rome
Naples
(To Austria)
Naples
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
(To Savoy)
(later, 1720, to Austria)
Morea
Candia
ANEAN SEA
10
15
20
25
30
55
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45
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35

SECTION 77. Describe the palace of Versailles. What were the chief reforms of Colbert? Mention some of the great writers of Louis XIV's time. How did the government aid scholarship and science?

SECTION 78. What led Louis XIV to attack his neighbors? What are the "natural" boundaries of France? What country did Louis first attack? What additions did he make to French territory?

SECTION 79. What was the policy of Louis XIV toward the Huguenots? Who were Louis XIV's chief enemies?

SECTION 80. What were the causes of the War of the Spanish Succession? What were the chief changes provided for in the Treaty of Utrecht?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is not the aim of this bibliography to mention all of even the important books in various languages that relate to the period in question. The writer is well aware that teachers are busy people and that high-school libraries and local public libraries usually furnish at best only a few historical works. It is therefore most important that those books should be given prominence in this list which the teacher has some chance of procuring and finding the time to use. It not infrequently happens that the best account of a particular period or topic is in a foreign language or in a rare publication, such as a doctor's dissertation, which could only be found in one of our largest libraries. All such titles, however valuable, are omitted from this list. They can be found mentioned in all the more scholarly works in the various fields.

CHAPTER I

A. General reading

For a general sketch of ancient history the student may be referred to the first eleven chapters of ROBINSON and BREASTED, *Outlines of European History*, Part I. Other textbooks on ancient history are BOTSFORD, *Ancient History*, or his more detailed *History of Greece* and *History of Rome*. WEST, *Ancient History to the Death of Charlemagne*; PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*; and MYERS, *Rome: its Rise and Fall*. There are good bibliographies in these books, with references to larger histories. The best work in English on the conditions in the Empire upon the eve of the invasions is DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. Every historical student should gain some acquaintance with the celebrated historian GIBBON. Although his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was written about a century and a half ago, it is still of great interest and importance and is incomparable in its style. The best edition is published by The Macmillan Company, with corrections and additions by a competent modern historian, J. B. BURY. *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, by various writers, now in course of publication, devotes its first volume to the period in question. BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, is especially good for the history of the eastern part of the Empire. HODGKIN,

B. The Roman Empire

Italy and her Invaders, an extensive work in eight volumes, has descriptive sections based on source material. His two small works, the *Dynasty of Theodosius* and *Theodoric the Goth*, are very readable but somewhat exaggerate the invasions. CUNNINGHAM, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, is a suggestive survey, less popular but more general than DAVIS, *Influence of Wealth on Imperial Rome*, which is a brilliant but somewhat overdrawn account of the economic situation in the Empire.

C. Christianity and the Church

GLOVER, *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, is a valuable book on the conditions under which Christianity arose. For the history of the Church, NEWMAN, *Manual of Church History*, is a clear account. Of more elaborate works, SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, or MOELLER, *Church History*, may be recommended.

D. Source material

Readings in European History

The textbook and the collateral reading should always be supplemented by examples of contemporaneous materials. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I (from the barbarian invasions to the opening of the sixteenth century) and Vol. II (from the opening of the sixteenth century to the present day), arranged to accompany chapter by chapter the author's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, will be found especially useful in furnishing extracts which reënforce the narrative, together with extensive bibliographies and topical references. This compilation will be referred to hereafter simply as *Readings*. There is also an abridged edition in one volume. In addition the following may be mentioned: THATCHER and MCNEAL, *Source Book for Mediæval History*; OGG, *Source Book for Mediæval History*, and the series of *Translations and Reprints* of the University of Pennsylvania. The Columbia University Press is now bringing out a new series of source material, *Records of Civilization*, edited by J. T. SHOTWELL, which aims to give many important documents of history in full in English translation. Its volumes on *Hellenic Civilization* and *The Rise of Christianity* should be noted here.

E. Historical atlases

Constant use should be made of good historical atlases. By far the best and most convenient for the high school is SHEPHERD, WILLIAM R., *Historical Atlas*, 1911 (see maps 43, 45, 48, 50–52). DOW, EARLE E., *Atlas of European History*, 1907, also furnishes clear maps of the chief changes.

CHAPTER II

A. General reading

The best short account of the barbarian invasions is EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chaps. i–vii. OMAN, *The Dark Ages*, gives a somewhat fuller narrative of the events. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chaps. i, ii, iv, and v, discusses the general conditions and results.

For extracts relating to the barbarian invasions, see *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 28–55. Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediæval History*, chaps. i–iv. Much more extensive are the extracts given in Hayes, C. H., *An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions*, 1909 (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. XXXIII, No. III). There is a translation of Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*, by Brehaut, in the series, *Records of Civilization*. *B.* Source material

CHAPTER III

There are no very satisfactory short accounts of the development of the papacy. One must turn to the church histories, which are written by either Catholics or Protestants and so differ a good deal in their interpretation of events. One may refer to Fisher, *History of the Christian Church* (Protestant), or Alzog, *Manual of Universal Church History* (Catholic). Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, although old, is scholarly and readable and to be found in many good libraries. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I, chaps. iv, vi. Newman, *Manual of Church History*, Vol. I (Protestant). *A.* General reading

Readings, Vol. I, pp. 14–27 and chap. iv. By far the best collection of illustrative sources is to be found in Ayer, J. C., *A Source Book of Ancient Church History*, 1913. *B.* Source material

CHAPTER IV

The church histories referred to above all have something to say of the monks. There is an excellent chapter on monasticism in Taylor, Henry O., *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. See also a little book by the famous church historian Harnack, *Monasticism*. *A.* General reading

Readings, chap. v. There is a *Life of St. Columban*, written by one of his companions, which, although short and simple in the extreme, furnishes a better idea of the Christian spirit of the sixth century than the longest treatise by a modern writer. This life may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 7, translated by Professor Munro. The chief portions of the Benedictine Rule may be found in Henderson, E. F., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 74 ff., and in Thatcher and McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 432 ff. See map, pp. 46–47, in Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, showing spread of Christianity in Europe. *B.* Source material

Cambridge Mediæval History, Vol. II, chap. xvi. The most complete history of the monks is by the French writer Montalembert, *The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, which has been *C.* Additional reading

translated into English (6 vols.). The writer's enthusiasm and excellent style make the work very attractive.

D. Mohammed and his followers

For Mohammed and the Saracens, THATCHER and SCHWILL, *Europe in the Middle Age*, chap. xv. GILMAN, *The Saracens*. GIBBON has a famous chapter on Mohammed and another on the conquests of the Arabs. These are the fiftieth and fifty-first of his great work. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II, chaps. x–xii.

E. Source material

It is not hard to find a copy of one of the English translations of the Koran. See brief extracts in *Readings* and in OGG, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 97 ff. STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed*, is very interesting.

F. Additional reading

MUIR, *Life of Mohammed*. AMEER ALI, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed, a Short History of the Saracens*, by one who sympathizes with them.

CHAPTER V

A. General reading

EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chaps. xii–xiv. BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. iv–v. HENDERSON, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, chaps. iv–v. OMAN, *Dark Ages*, chaps. xix–xxii.

B. Source material

Readings, pp. 120–125 and chap. vii. DUNCALF and KREY, *Parallel Source Problems in Mediæval History*, pp. 3–26.

C. Additional reading

HODGKIN, *Charles the Great*, a small volume. MOMBERT, *A History of Charles the Great*, the most extensive treatment in English. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II, chaps. xviii–xix.

CHAPTER VI

A. General reading

EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. xv. OMAN, *Dark Ages*, chaps. xxiii–xxv. EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xiv. ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. ix.

B. Source material

Readings, chaps. viii–ix. OGG, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, chap. x. THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 341–417.

C. Additional reading

SEIGNOBOS, *Feudal Régime* (excellent). See "Feudalism," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed. INGRAM, *History of Slavery and Serfdom*, especially chaps. iv–v. CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*.

CHAPTER VII

A. General reading

There are a number of convenient general histories of England during the Middle Ages which can be used to supplement the short account here given: CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*; GREEN, *Short History of the English People*; CROSS, A. L., *A History of England and Greater*

Britain, chaps. iv–xviii; ANDREWS, CHARLES M., *History of England*; TERRY, *History of England*; and a number of others. For France, ADAMS, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation*; DURUY, *History of France*.

Readings, chaps. xi, xx. There are several source books of English history: CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chaps. iv–xii; COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*; LEE, *Source-Book of English History*; KENDALL, *Source Book of English History*. *B.* Source material

There is, of course, a great deal more available in English relating to English history than to the history of the continental countries. One will find plenty of references to the more extensive works in any of the books mentioned above. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER VIII

EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chaps. iii–x. HENDERSON, E. F., *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*. A clear and scholarly account of the whole period. *A.* General reading

Readings, Vol. I, chaps. xii–xiv. DUNCALF and KREY, *Parallel Source Problems in Mediæval History*, Problem II (Canossa). THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, Section III, pp. 132–259. *B.* Source material

TOUT, *The Empire and the Papacy*, with chief attention to the strictly political history. BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. viii–xi. Excellent maps for the period will be found in SHEPHERD, *Historical Atlas*. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER IX

EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xi. TOUT, *The Empire and the Papacy*, chaps. vii, viii, xiii, xiv, xix. ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. xi, for discussion of general results. *A.* General reading

Readings, chap. xv. THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, Section IX, pp. 510–544. *Translations and Reprints* published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. I, Nos. 2, 4, and Vol. III, No. 1. *B.* Source material

ARCHER and KINGSFORD, *The Crusades*. GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chaps. lviii–lix. See "Crusades," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER X

The available material on this important subject is rather scattered. The author gives a somewhat fuller account of the Church in his *Western Europe*, chaps. xvi, xvii, xxi. See good chapter in EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xvi. Special topics can be looked up in the *A.* General reading

Encyclopædia Britannica, the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, or any other good encyclopedia.

B. Source material

Readings, Vol. I, chaps. xvi, xvii, xxi. THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, contains many important documents relating to the Church.

C. Additional reading

CUTTS, *Parish Priests and their People*. The opening chapter of LEA, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, gives a remarkable account of the medieval Church and the abuses which prevailed. The first volume also contains chapters upon the origin of both the Franciscan and Dominican orders. For St. Francis the best work is SABATIER, *St. Francis of Assisi*. See also GASQUET, *English Monastic Life*; JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars, and Other Historic Essays*; CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, introductory chapter.

CHAPTER XI

A. General reading

EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xv. Historians are so accustomed to deal almost exclusively with political events that one looks to them in vain for much information in regard to town life in the Middle Ages and is forced to turn to special works: GIBBINS, *History of Commerce*, best short account with good maps; CUNNINGHAM, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, Vol. II; CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*; GIBBINS, *Industrial History of England*; DAY, C., *History of Commerce*; LUCHAIRE, *Social Life in the Time of Philip Augustus*. SYMONDS, *Age of Despots*, gives a charming account of town life in Italy in its more picturesque aspects. HAMLIN, *History of Architecture*, good introduction. Good account of early discoveries in *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. i–ii.

B. Source material

Readings, Vol. I, chap. xviii. OGG, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, chap. xx. THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*. Section X, pp. 545–612, gives many interesting documents. Marco Polo's account of his travels is easily had in English. The best edition of *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* is that published by The Macmillan Company, because it contains the accounts on which the anonymous writer of the travels depended for his information.

CHAPTER XII

A. General reading

EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xiii. RASHDALL, *History of the Universities in the Middle Ages*, introductory chapters.

B. Source material

Readings, Vol. I, chap. xix. STEELE, *Mediæval Lore*, extracts from an encyclopedia of the thirteenth century. The *Song of Roland* is translated into spirited English verse by O'Hagan. The reader will find a

beautiful example of a French romance of the twelfth century in an English translation of *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Mr. STEELE gives charming stories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Renaud of Montauban*, and *The Story of Alexander*. MALORY, *Mort d'Arthur*, a collection of the stories of the Round Table made in the fifteenth century for English readers, is the best place to turn for these famous stories. ROBINSON and ROLFE, *Petrarch* (new enlarged edition, 1914), a collection of his most interesting letters. WHITCOMB, *Literary Source Book of the Italian Renaissance*. COULTER, *Mediæval Garner*, a collection of selections from the literary sources.

SAINTSBURY, *Flourishing of Romance*, a good introduction to medieval literature. WALSH, *The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries* (rather too enthusiastic in its claims). SMITH, JUSTIN H., *The Troubadours at Home*. CORNISH, *Chivalry*. DEVINNE, *Invention of Printing*. PUTNAM, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*. BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. VAN DYCK, *The History of Painting*. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER XIII

JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, chaps. i–ii. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. iv, xi. See "Charles V," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. DURUY, *History of France*, Ninth and Tenth Periods. *A.* General reading

Readings, Vol. II, chap. xxiii. *B.* Source material

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. ii. DYER and HASSALL, *Modern Europe* (a political history of Europe in 6 vols.), Vol. I. CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*. PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V. BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. xiv. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER XIV

See fuller account in ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chaps. xxi, xxiv–xxvi. HENDERSON, E. F., *Short History of Germany*. JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, chaps. iii–v. LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. See "Reformation," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed. *A.* General reading

Readings, Vol. I, chap. xxi, and Vol. II, chaps. xxiv–xxvi. WACE and BUCHHEIM (Editors), *Luther's Primary Works* and *The Augsburg Confession*. WHITCOMB, *Source Book of the German Renaissance*. *B.* Source material

MCGIFFERT, *Martin Luther*. BEARD, *Martin Luther*, especially introductory chapters on general conditions. CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. VI. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. ix, xix, and Vol. II, chaps. iv–viii. JANSSEN, *History of the German People*, Vols. I–II. EMERTON, *Desiderius Erasmus*, very interesting. *C.* Additional reading

CHAPTER XV

A. General reading

JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 272 ff. See "Zwingli" and "Calvin," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Chapters on the changes under Henry VIII and Edward VI will be found in all general histories of England; for example, CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*, chap. xii; CROSS, *A History of England*, chaps. xx–xxii; GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chaps. vi–vii.

B. Source material

Readings, chap. xxvii. GEE and HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 145 ff., very useful and full. CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chap. xii.

C. Additional reading

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chaps. x–xi, xiii–xv. JACKSON, S. M., *Huldreich Zwingli*. LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*. Vol. II, Bk. III, chaps. i–iii, and Bk. IV. GASQUET, *The Eve of the Reformation*.

CHAPTER XVI

A. General reading

JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, chaps. vii–ix. WAKEMAN, *European History, 1598–1715*, chaps. i–v. The portion of the chapter dealing with English affairs can be readily supplemented by means of the general histories of England, CHEYNEY, CROSS, GREEN, ANDREWS, etc.

B. Source material

Readings, Vol. II, chaps. xxviii, xix. CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chap. xiii.

C. Additional reading

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chaps. ix, xvi, xviii–xix; Vol. III, chaps. i, vi–x, xv, xx; Vol. IV, chaps. i, iii–vi, xiii–xiv. LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II, Bk. III, chaps. iv–v and Bk. VI. PUTNAM, RUTH, *William the Silent*. PAYNE, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen to America*, Vol. I. MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. GINDELY, *History of the Thirty Years' War*.

CHAPTER XVII

A. General reading

CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*, chaps. xiv–xvi. CROSS, *A History of England*, chaps. xxvii–xxxv. GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chaps. viii–ix.

B. Source material

Readings, chap. xxx. CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chaps. xiv–xvi. LEE, *Source Book of English History*, Pt. VI; COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Pt. VI, the Stuart Period. GEE and HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 508–664.

C. Additional reading

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. xvii; Vol. IV, chaps. viii–xi, xv, xix; Vol. V, chaps. v, ix–xi. MORLEY, *Oliver Cromwell*. MACAULAY, Essay on Milton. GARDINER, *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*.

CHAPTER XVIII

A. General reading

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chaps. i–ii, xiii–xiv. WAKEMAN, *Europe from 1598 to 1715*, chaps. ix–xi, xiv–xv. DURUY, *History of France*, Thirteenth Period. ADAMS, *Growth of the French Nation.*

B. Source material

Readings, Vol. II, chap. xxxi. Memoirs of the period are often obtainable in translation at reasonable prices. The greatest of these, those of Saint Simon, are condensed to a three-volume English edition.

C. Additional reading

PERKINS, *France under the Regency*, one of several valuable books by this author. TAINE, *The Ancient Régime*, a brilliant picture of life in France in the eighteenth century. LOWELL'S *Eve of the French Revolution* is also general; it is less picturesque but gives a fairer idea of conditions

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